Pupils' Perceptions of Terrorism from a Sample of Secondary Schools in Warwickshire

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Figures and Tables

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Declaration

The work presented in this thesis was carried out at the Warwick Religions and Education Research Unit (WRERU), University of Warwick, and is entirely my own except where other authors have been referred to and acknowledged in the text. It has not previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university. Experiences during an MA dissertation and my work experience are briefly referred to in the thesis but are appropriately acknowledged and referenced.

Sections of my previous Masters degree and this PhD thesis, both conducted at the University of Warwick, have provided the basis for the publications listed below:

Quartermaine, A. (2010). A study of pupil understandings of 'terrorism' in pupil conversations (aged 16-18) and questionnaires from a sample of Warwickshire Secondary Schools. *Discourse*, 10 (1), pp.101-130

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Abstract

Concerns about terrorism, radicalisation and extremism are found within many of the discourses surrounding the safety of young people within modern British society. The current UK Counter-Terrorism Strategy, known as Prevent (2011), suggests that the education system should be responsive to these concerns and that schools in particular need to include certain counter-terrorism measures into their administrative and teaching procedures.

However, despite the increased literature on these issues, very little has been done to investigate or incorporate pupils' views into the discussion. Most young people are not, nor have the desire to be, involved in terrorist activities, yet they are still witnesses to the discourses associated with the preventative measures expressed by the State and by the discourses from other sources, such as the media. Therefore, this exploratory study into their perceptions of terrorism provides a unique insight into how these discourses affect young people's views of others and of society-wide ideologies, such as religion. It does not provide suggestions for educationalists and policy makers, since it was conducted separate to State procedures, but rather provides young people with a voice in this ever-growing field of study.

The research participants included pupils aged 13-15 years old, from a selection of six schools in Warwickshire, including four comprehensive and two grammar schools. The research drew on the theoretical foundations of Foucault and used Case Study Research methods to uncover the pupils' perceptions of terrorism. By exploring the pupils' language and those influential power-knowledge processes that contributed to the

formulations and expressions of their knowledge, this study investigated the affects that external influences can have in the pupils' perceptions and, in doing so, it demonstrated how capable young people are of engaging with a variety of complex and sensitive issues associated with the topic of terrorism.

Glossary

Acronyms

BERA	British Education Research Association
BNP	British National Party
DCFS	Department of Children and Family
DFES	Department for Education and Skills
DfE	Department for Education
DPA	Data Protection Act
EDL	English Defence League
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
RCUK	Research Councils United Kingdom
SACRE	Standing Advisory Council for Religious Education

School Terminology

RE	Religious Education
PHSE	Personal Health and Social Education
Year 9	School year group for pupils aged 13-14 in England and Wales
Year 10	School year group for pupils aged 14-15 in England and Wales
KS3	Key Stage 3: covers schooling for pupils in Years 7, 8 and 9
KS4	Key Stage 4: covers schooling for pupils in Years 10 and 11

Religious Terminology

PBUH	When the Prophet Muhammad is mentioned, Muslims typically follow his name with the phrases “Peace be Upon Him” (PBUH). This convention has been omitted, but the reader can include it, if desired.

Qur'an	Central religious text of Islam
Hadith	Islamic term for the “tradition” or teachings, deeds and sayings of the Prophet
Sunnah	Islamic way of life based on the teachings and practices of the Prophet
Allah	The Arabic name for God, associated with Islam
Jihad	Very complex term, but typically translated as “struggle” in Islam
Kirpan	Sikh traditional sword
Gatka	A traditional weapon-based martial art associated with Sikhism
Nihang	A caste associated with Sikhism
Shastar Vidya	A form of martial arts associated with Sikhism
Bible	Central religious text of Christianity

Coding Conventions

Throughout this dissertation, anonymity of the participants was assured by providing them with a specific code. These conventions have been noted below, with the number “1” being used for example purposes:

CS1	Case Study 1
T1	Teacher 1
PT1	Prevent Team Leader
P01	Pupil 1, from survey
B1 or G1	Boy 1 or Girl 1, from focus group

Chapter 1

Introduction: Uncovering Perceptions of Terrorism

1.1 Introduction: The Importance of this Research

This thesis was inspired by my experiences as a secondary school Religious Education (RE) teacher, where I encountered many pupils questioning me about terrorism, most frequently during lessons on Islam. Their questions were often irrelevant or had prejudiced connotations and I was particularly concerned that the linking of terrorism to Islam, and no other group, had led some pupils to label all Muslims as "terrorists". This motivated me to pursue my previous research into the topic, during which I discovered that although pupils connected Islam to terrorism, they generally considered it a stereotype, but felt unable to provide alternative responses (Quartermaine 2010). The disparity between their prejudiced understandings of terrorism and their desire to demonstrate a lack of prejudice, combined with the wider social implications of their concerns, such as Islamophobia and community cohesion (Miller 2010b), all highlighted the need for a more in-depth study.

Issues in this matter are of interest to Education due to the current UK Counter-Terrorism (Prevent) Strategy (H.M. Government 2011a) making suggestions for schools to include certain measures into their teaching procedures. Furthermore, there had been a recent trend in publications highlighting the importance of education to counter any possible radicalisation or terrorism-related activities conducted by young people. However, the current range of literature and research does not include details of the pupils' perspective, and since these are the individuals who are affected by government policy and by such research, I felt it important to provide a space in which their voices

could be expressed because I believed they could provide valuable insights into the interesting debates surrounding this controversial and complex topic.

Prior to designing my research, I reflected on the relationship this thesis would have with government policy (de Laine 2000:3) and concluded that my choice to investigate pupils' perceptions of the phenomenon differed to those studies considered more responsive to the explicit needs of the Prevent Strategy, such as proactively attempting to prevent terrorism (see Spalek 2012) or assessing the psychological impact terrorism has on young people (for example, Koocher and la Greca 2011). I also chose not to use government documents in the design or analysis of this research because I was concerned that such a focus could make the results biased towards State discourses. The aim of this study was to contribute to our general knowledge about how terrorism affects young people, rather than to respond directly to government needs.

My research should be considered relevant to policy makers and educationalists though because the “witnessing” of terrorist activities is not restricted to those directly affected by it, but rather by all those who may have come into contact with wider perceptions of the phenomenon, such as that experienced via the media. In my opinion, the issues associated with terrorism affect a broader spectrum of young people, not just those who may have been involved (or had the potential to be involved) or personally affected by terrorist activities. Therefore, this research should be considered responsive to the wider issues associated with how perceptions of terrorism can affect communities rather than directly related to the prevention of physical acts of terrorism. Furthermore, since little work has been done in this area, this thesis was an exploratory investigation that set out to discover how pupils' perceived this topic and thus avoided providing practical

guidelines for the teaching about this topic to young people.

1.2 Research Questions

The research questions were devised after I had conducted a series of investigative research-style activities when I was a teacher and during the Masters research in conducted at the University of Warwick. This previous work helped frame the style and scope of this investigation by providing some initial insights into the most appropriate course for this study. However, this thesis is not a repeat of my previous work, but was rather devised as an extension into those areas of research that I considered the most interesting and important.

The primary research question was:

How do secondary school pupils in 6 Warwickshire schools perceive "terrorism"?

Due to the range of responses experienced in my previous work, I focussed my study on three specific elements for research and analysis:

(a) What connections, if any, do the pupils make between terrorism and religion?

(b) What is the content of the pupils' knowledge on terrorism?

(c) What is the process by which pupils come to know about terrorism?

(c.i) How do the school and classroom teachers affect and influence the pupils' views?

(c.ii) What wider social influences and concepts are revealed by the discovered pupils' perceptions?

1.3 Chapter Overviews

The research questions were used as a basis by which an exploration into those issues surrounding the pupils' perceptions of terrorism could begin. This section provides an overview of how this study has been presented and demonstrates the importance placed on uncovering the *pupils'* views.

After this introductory chapter, *Chapter 2* examines the theoretical framework by which the initial explorations of perceptions into an abstract concept (terrorism) could begin. Due to the complex nature of these perceptions, I chose Foucault's theories on the nature of knowledge, in particular those explored in *The Order of Things* (2002) and *Discipline and Punish* (1991), to provide guidance and insights into the various components that affected the research process. These included general knowledge formation, the importance of words and language to explain perceptions, and finally the impact that power-knowledge can have in the divulgence of ideas and perceptions.

Chapter 3 explores *what* knowledge is available on terrorism, as this will demonstrate the potential information that contributed to the perceptions divulged by the research participants. Although this literature overview will not provide a complete picture of all the possible perceptions held by the participants, it does give useful insights into the scope of available knowledge. To aid in the comprehension of this information, the literature was divided into five sections or “arenas”: the academic arena; terrorism and the State; public debates and the media; discourses from those who are categorised as “terrorists”; and the school arena. These divisions demonstrate how the phenomenon has been perceived by the influential scholars in the corresponding arena and suggests how their discourses affected the associated audiences.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the methodological considerations that helped frame the research activities. It begins with an overview of the power-knowledge processes involved in making methodological choices, before detailing the practical methods used to collect data. The method used for this thesis was case study research (CSR) (Yin 2009) because it provided a useful approach by which short-term case studies could take place in a number of schools. Finally, this chapter outlines the analytical framework used to explore and explain my findings.

Chapter 5 discusses the initial scope and restrictions placed on the research before the pupil interactions took place. It begins with a contextualised overview of the important geographical and demographic information about Warwickshire, before providing a brief overview of the known State counter-terrorism mechanics and influences in the area, namely the Police Prevent team. The following section discusses the process of disclosure, that was discovered when I applied Foucauldian thought to the conclusions reached about the implications of my preliminary interactions with schools. This process was most noticeable during my attempts to gain access into schools and the analysis herein includes speculations on how these factors may have restricted the scope of information gathered during fieldwork events.

Chapters 6 and 7 provide an overview of the data collected. Chapter 6 focusses on the survey data and Chapter 7 provides summaries of each individual case study, including the teacher interviews and pupil discussions.

Chapter 8 is the first of three chapters that provides analytical insights into the data. This first section investigates where the pupils' ideas and knowledge converged with respect to their language. It begins with an overview of the key words used, before exploring how those words were used within the written data and group dialogues. Once an overview of these ideas has been presented, a brief examination of the picture and teacher data will be used to support the findings. This language overview will then feed into the next stage of analysis.

Chapter 9 explores the power-knowledge dynamics uncovered during and after the data collection events. These will be explored through those knowable facets of power-knowledge uncovered during the research events, beginning with an examination of the pupil data to demonstrate how a disposition of concern reverberated throughout the research events. The pupils' interactions and language demonstrated how they felt permitted or restricted to discuss certain aspects of terrorism; particularly within the group discussions, where they appeared to sometimes monitor the collective information disclosed. Finally, the wider power-knowledge dynamics uncovered during the research events will be explored, including teacher and social influences, such as the geographical location and demographics, as well as the media. These results then fed into the next layer of analysis.

Chapter 10 combines all the information gathered in the previous two analysis chapters, to provide an overview of the entire “network of comprehension” (Foucault 2002:330). Due to the wide range of ideas involved within this network, this chapter specifically focuses on those ideas that corresponded to the research questions. It begins by exploring how and why the recollection of certain events affected the pupils'

perceptions. This will be followed by an overview of the perceived motivations of terrorism, including racism (or prejudice), politics and religion. Due to the importance of religion, this chapter will examine both the term itself and several recollections about specific religions, including Islam, Sikhism and Christianity.

Chapter 11 then reflects back on the theoretical framework used throughout this thesis to provide additional Foucauldian-based insights into the possible reasons behind the expressions of knowledge uncovered in the data. Foucault's analysis of power-knowledge provides useful insights into how the power of hegemony and surveillance functioned behind the scenes and gives deeper insights into why the knowledge took certain forms. However, there were discrepancies (or instabilities) within these uncovered power-knowledge dynamics, which highlighted certain questions about the legitimacy of the perceptions of terrorism known to, and expressed by, the participants. By exploring these various theoretical elements of knowledge formation and disclosure, more detailed insights into the pupils' perceptions of terrorism will be uncovered and contribute to the formulation of those conclusions reached by this research project.

Chapter 12 provides final considerations and conclusions about the research. It reflects on the research process itself and the implications of this study. In doing so, it intends to not only demonstrate the quality of this investigation but also suggests possible avenues for future research projects.

1.4 Conclusion: Overview of the Research Conducted

This thesis offers insights into six schools in Warwickshire and the ways in which pupils (and to a lesser degree, teachers) perceive terrorism. The thesis draws on insights gained

through qualitative research techniques used to gather data from a sample of young people, aged 13-15 years old. It contributes to the scope of original knowledge by providing these pupils with a voice in the complex debates surrounding terrorism and by uncovering some of the processes by which their knowledge was formulated and divulged.

The specific method chosen to collect such data was case study research (CSR) (Yin 2009), because this best suited the exploratory nature of my study. It incorporated the use of multiple sources (such as school documents and teacher interviews) and multiple methods (such as surveys and focus groups) into the research design, and ensured that short-term research events could take place in a variety of locations. However, the research design was also influenced by my experience as a secondary school teacher and by the practicalities associated with gaining access to schools: factors that affected my research design.

The main body of this research took place in six schools from different regions of Warwickshire: four comprehensive and two grammar schools. A total of 264 pupils responded to the written activities: 148 boys and 116 girls. Approximately 70% of pupils categorised themselves as white British and 17% were mixed-British heritage. With respect to religion, 53% stated they had “no religion” and 25% categorised themselves as Christian. A total of 73 pupils, who had participated in the survey, were involved in the focus groups and 18 teachers were (formally and informally) interviewed, to provide deeper insights into the pupils' perceptions and to gain additional information into their possible influence over the results.

However, prior to discussing the research methods and findings in detail, it is prudent to discuss the theoretical and methodological frameworks used to uncover the pupils' perceptions of terrorism, as the following chapters will explain.

Chapter 2

Perceptions and Knowledge Formation:

A Foucauldian Approach

2.1 Introduction: The Theoretical Framework

This chapter will discuss the theoretical framework that was used to aid the exploration of the topic and information gathered. The primary considerations were to find a method by which perceptions of an abstract concept (terrorism) could be systematically explored and to discover an appropriate analytical approach to those findings. Perceptions, by their very nature, are complex, particularly when they are divulged by another individual because it is impossible to know what they truly think. Furthermore, perceptions are in a constant state of flux: previous knowledge influences their foundations, yet they are constantly changing as more knowledge is acquired. Therefore, this study should be considered a snapshot of the perceptions divulged by participants during the research events, as gathered through the data collection techniques used (as described in Chapter 4).

For the purposes of this thesis, I chose Foucault's theories on the nature of knowledge, in particular those explored in *The Order of Things* (2002) and *Discipline and Punish* (1991), to help guide my methodological and analytical approaches. These texts provided useful insights into the various components of the research process, particularly general knowledge formation, language analysis and the importance of power-knowledge in the divulgence of ideas and perceptions. However, restricting the use of Foucauldian thought to two seminal texts may have limited the parameters of the

research and restricted the analytical conclusions reached. There are other bodies of his work that could have been used to provide additional insights and critics may argue that these other avenues of thought could have been used to stimulate additional areas for investigation.[1] Although I would agree that some of these other works may have been useful, the nature of the research conducted and the practical restrictions placed on the research meant that it was necessary to restrict the theoretical framework to those ideas that were most appropriate to this in-depth study. These other texts may be used in future research projects, to aid in alternative explorations of pupils' perceptions of terrorism or within different Foucauldian-inspired methodological approaches to educational research. The Foucauldian texts chosen herein helped explain the reasons why certain knowledge was discovered, which in turn provided deeper insights into the perceptions under investigation. However, the nature of the topic in itself resulted in some information becoming concealed, restricted by socially imposed powers, which required additional analytical insights, as explored by Foucault's theories on power-knowledge. By power-knowledge, I mean the on-going processes associated with power relations that influence the way we think and talk about particular issues in certain circumstances.

That is not to say that this is a Foucauldian-based project, but rather that I have used his philosophical outlook as an aide to comprehending the perceptions under investigation. Foucault did not (nor did he intend to) provide a comprehensive philosophical and methodological episteme for research projects, thus it is necessary to interpret his ideas according to the parameters of the research undertaken. In this sense, perhaps I am emulating Foucault because, as Gutting commented, “Foucault does not hesitate to

[1] For example, I have briefly noted a section from Foucault's “Society Must be Defended” series of lectures due to its specific relevance to this thesis. However, these lectures have not been scrutinised in detail because the ideas therein go beyond the scope of the project.

construct theories and methods, but the constructions are always subordinated to the tactical needs of the particular analysis at hand" (Gutting 2005:4). Since I required an appropriate approach to collecting and analysing young people's perceptions of a multi-faceted concept, I chose a philosophical outlook that could help me comprehend such complex ideas. My study involves questioning the very nature of knowledge, how it is modified or changed, sometimes subtly or to suit particular purposes. Furthermore, as the project developed, I required theories that acted as stimuli for the analysis and helped provide deeper insights into pupils' perceptions of terrorism: something which I believe Foucault's work helped me achieve.

To begin this exploration into perceptions of terrorism, it is prudent to first comprehend the nature of the knowledge that was expressed and explored. This chapter initially provides an overview of Foucault's seminal text, *The Order of Things* (2002), to demonstrate the complex nature of how the divulged perceptions are guided and restricted by the parameters of discourse and influential knowledge formations. Once the nature and limitations of the divulged knowledge have been understood, the following section will briefly explore how Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1991) will guide my analysis of the divulged perceptions.

2.2 The Centrality of Language in the Formation of Knowledge

I initially considered the object of my study to be situated in language: namely, the word terrorism and its associated discourse(s). Beginning with an examination of the language used was crucial to the project because it was from this that I hoped to gain insights into the knowledge and perceptions divulged by participants. Furthermore, comprehending language was essential for the analysis into the power-knowledge

dynamics associated with this topic. Foucault's theories into the archaeology of discourse and philosophical insights into knowledge and language formation, as explored in *The Order of Things* (2002), provided the initial insights and framework by which the limitations of the divulged knowledge were explored.

According to Foucault, language, be it in written or spoken form, is a recognisable manifestation of representable aspects of human knowledge and the ordering of ideas (Foucault 2002:xx). It makes visible that which was hidden; once spoken, ideas can be known, formulated, ordered, explored and even altered. That does not necessarily make them "real" or "correct" expressions of an object or idea, because language expresses a world of resemblance, reflection and thought (Foucault 2002:35). Foucault argued that language is the articulated ordering of resemblances, but it is still important because it is the best means humanity has of expressing ideas (Foucault 2002:36).

Therefore, the study of language involves the study of *representations* of knowledge, rather than a study of knowledge in itself. Once these representations of knowledge have been studied, man "transmits these resemblances back into the world from which he receives them" (Foucault 2002:23). Therefore, there is a constant knowledge cycle between representation and interpretations of those representations. There may have been a first object of knowledge, but its very discovery lead to it becoming altered by personal and social interpretations (and reinterpretations). However, if there was no first object or event that sparked the knowledge, then what is it that has been perceived? Foucault states that there is the possibility that representation is nothing but myth (Foucault 2002:374) because man is "the locus of misunderstanding" (Foucault 2002:323).

On closer examination of the implications of Foucauldian thought, we can begin to understand how knowledge is subject to representations. Take for example the Classical division between the two main categories of knowledge – *a priori* and *a posteriori*: even though this is frequently perceived as a rigid categorisation, in Foucauldian thought, such a divide becomes hazy because it is subject to representation. *A posteriori* knowledge is (by its very nature) linked to experiences, therefore it naturally has some form of interpretation linked to it – as seen in Foucault's example of wealth and money (Foucault 2002:177). *A priori* knowledge, on the other hand, appears exempt from interpretation because it is based on an unquestionable logic and contains a repeatable truth. However, Foucauldian thought makes one question whether this is indeed the case. A simple explanation can be expressed through a mathematical example: each letter or symbol used to explain a concept, such as 1+1=2, requires an understanding of other symbols, representations or signs to explain that knowledge. One must understand what each notation, e.g. "1", represents before the overall concept can be understood – namely, the symbolic representation of an addition of two objects, as well as something symbolising a mathematical formulation in its own right (Foucault 2002:82). This sum will also have an external layer of meaning and representation that is dependant on the context in which it is used, be it to teach young people to add groceries and so on.

The ideas that have lead to mathematical sums becoming such an important aspect of human existence have an "archaeology"; a history that goes into the depths of human memory. The essential foundations or "truths" of knowledge are not within man's conscious thought, they function behind the scenes (Foucault 2002:330). Language itself has similar foundations and "unspoken habits of thought" (Foucault 2002:297)

that are necessary for comprehension and knowledge, but which simultaneously hinder how we form and express that knowledge. For example, the requirements of spelling and grammar, or the four segments of discourse (proposition, articulation, designation and derivation) limit our discourse – both in spoken and written form. Furthermore, the nuances of the English language means that the language used is not always articulated in a "typical" format; the participants (or myself) could use "spontaneous" and "badly constructed" language (Foucault 2002:158). For example, the language used to make an exclamation can be very different to the language of needs, habits or prejudices – not only in the words used but also in the way in which the words are structured together. This problem was noticeable in my project because, as a researcher, I had different vocabulary to the young people being interviewed, therefore I used words or terminology, such as those found in academic vernacular, that they may not have known or which they misunderstood (and vice versa). Furthermore, the context of these words was also restricted by our respective use of the English language and required some imaginative thought for understanding. According to Foucault, imagination is crucial for understanding representations, because it helps us to make links between words or ideas that may not be explicitly stated (Foucault 2002:69). Therefore, in my analysis of the data, I necessarily relied on my own knowledge, as well as on the informed and imaginative processes that influenced the concepts explored herein.

2.2.1 Using Language to Express Knowledge

Once the nuances of language have been understood, it becomes necessary to explore how this language expresses knowledge. According to Foucault, such expressions of knowledge can be explored by dividing them into discrete exploratory elements; in this case, the specific words and sentences used by the participants. These divisions form

part of the total impression and it is through this that we can better comprehend the nature of our knowledge (Foucault 2002:59). However, dividing such knowledge is not an easy feat. As Foucault questioned: “On what "table", according to what grid of identities, similitudes, analogies, have we become accustomed to sort out so many different and similar things? What is this coherence?... It is not a question of linking consequences, but of grouping and isolating, of analysing, of matching and pigeon-holing concrete contents; there is nothing more tentative, nothing more empirical (superficially, at least) than the process of establishing an order among things” (Foucault 2002: xxi).

Foucault suggests that any divisions of knowledge are relatively arbitrary: discourses overlap, influence each other and alter according to historical findings or current events. Furthermore, due to the nature of conducting research into an unknown field of knowledge (namely pupils' perceptions of terrorism), all avenues of research could not become apparent until the data collection events were completed, since the participants shed light on other ideas that were not considered beforehand. Foucault suggested that there are three central “problems” that require consideration when examining knowledge formation: change, causality and subject (Foucault 2002:xii-xv).

1. Change: Knowledge can change and be reorganised by the emergence of additional data. One example found was within the literature on terrorism before and after 11th September 2001 (9/11).

2. Causality: Although it is not easy to discover what events or ideas may have affected new discoveries or concepts, an awareness of the fact that information does change and

is affected by emerging ideas helps us to comprehend the fabric of our knowledge. For example, I have divided the thesis into “before-and-after” data collection, as I deem those events as the most noticeable causation for knowledge movement and change.

3.Subject: For Foucault, science and its history requires a reference to the scientist himself. This concept can be applied to other fields of knowledge: just as I have affected the data within this thesis, it is also important to recognise any writer's role in the development of terrorism knowledge.

Therefore, knowledge formation should be considered a process, that is based on past and current perceptions, which constantly evolves and thus affects any future perceptions. This process is not just shaped by experience but also by the language used to explain, formulate and describe such ideas. This language in itself also has histories of meaning and usage, which in turn influences and affects our perceptions. One example of this type of knowledge formation was uncovered through an examination of the word “terrorism” in itself: as I will now explain.

2.3 Understanding Terrorism Knowledge Formation

2.3.1 The Archaeology of “Terrorism”

This study into the perceptions of terrorism is concerned with a more complex aspect of human knowledge than basic mathematics, but the analogy above is useful in highlighting some important considerations. Looking past the *a priori / a posteriori* differences for a moment, the concept of 1+1=2 has an archaeology to it, as does terrorism; it has a function that lies behind man's conscious thought and the depth of this function may never come to light because it has become so embedded in the fabric of

human knowledge (Foucault 2002:155).

In addition to a hidden (perhaps non-existent?) archetype, the word is also covered by layers of history. The seemingly random memories of man have affected its function and meaning, to a point where what is declared as knowledge is merely a mix of past representations and current interpretations (things that suit the landscape in which the term is used). History, or rather the complex network of representations that form the narrative of mankind's existence, contributes to current representations and perceptions of terrorism because “it either picks out an entity and allows it to survive or ignores it and allows it to disappear” (please note that Foucault was discussing his ideas through the example of natural selection, but it is applicable to other words or concepts, Foucault 2002:155). There may be lived experiences that lead to the formation of these memories, but the “dispersion of time” (Foucault 2002:338) and the nature of human recall, as something both random and “at the mercy of representations” (Foucault 2002:309), means that any event or object under discussion has become subject to mankind's ever-changing perceptions and representations: something that will become apparent during my discussion about the archaeology of terrorism knowledge (see Chapter 3).

Conversely, if there were no memories to recall, if the representation did not possess the “obscure power of making a past impression present once more, then no impression would ever appear as either similar to or dissimilar from a previous one” (Foucault 2002:69). Therefore, the memories or ideas that are recalled by the word “terrorism” are essential for allowing the perceptions of the term to be described and explained. Without these associations, the term would be meaningless or indescribable. That is not

to say that the memory recollections discussed by the participants completely painted a picture of their perceptions; they did not discuss all their thoughts openly and there were also some ideas that remained hidden by layers of subconscious, but which nevertheless affected the discussion. Any memories that were recalled and discussed were also subjected to the randomness of recollection. As Foucault questioned: "is everything [that is recalled] significant and, if not, what is and for whom and in accordance with what rules?" (Foucault 2002:36).

2.3.2 Comprehending the Word "Terrorism"

As the analogy of 1+1=2 demonstrated, to fully understand the complexities of a concept, it is not only important to question the meaning of it in its entirety, but also the individual notations (such as "1") that represent aspects of the whole, and yet are also things in their own right. Although the notations represented in terrorism are harder to articulate than those in 1+1=2, its etymology and associated words, such as terror, terrorise, terrorist and so on, can be used to explain some of the known levels of meaning, representation and reinterpretations, but not all. Any unknown levels of meaning will remain hidden and thus have to be ignored, unless they are made visible through reflection; but even then, the very act of reflecting will add layers to the perceived knowledge, thus making some subconscious thoughts even more hidden.

It is not just the word terrorism that has individual notions that can be explored, but the representations of terrorism can similarly be broken down into distinct components (such as symbols, images or tactics etc.) and discussed in more detail. These representation of terrorism could be uncovered by exploring how the word was used in context, because this allowed for certain representations to become visible: in practical

terms, examining the participant's language could shed light on known representations and other influential discourses, as well contribute to our overall understanding of the pupils' perceptions of terrorism (Foucault 2002:59).

The context in which the word was used, its "network of comprehension" (Foucault 2002:330), also affected how the perceptions of it could be understood. Therefore, throughout the research process, I tried to remain aware that every aspect of the language under analysis had its own archaeology: from the grammar used to the sentence construction and the words chosen to describe ideas. Each aspect had particular representations associated with it, but when used in conjunction with other words, as a means of explaining the participant's thoughts on terrorism, it held a particular meaning, specific to that context. The layers of representation were thickened further because I not only explored the language used by each participant, but also the language used between participants. The way in which the participants responded to each other highlighted additional ideas and concepts, that contributed to the analysis.

2.3.3 Moral Judgements about Terrorism

The term terrorism is generally considered to have negative connotations and its use implies immoral people or activities. However, in the *Order of Things* (2002), Foucault began to theorise and question the origins and nature of this moral knowledge. The negativity associated with terrorism could simply be an example of how we perceive it, rather than something intrinsic to the term. There is no ultimate "Good" or "Bad", but if we perceive something to be so, that judgement is based upon the representations and ideas associated with it (Foucault 2002:336). Foucault stated that "for modern thought, no morality is possible" (Foucault 2002:328), therefore morality is perceived, it is not

something in its own right. My reflections on this hypothesis made me realise that the focus for this project was not on the immorality of terrorism, but rather on the question of *why* terrorism is perceived as something immoral? What associations or representations have made it so? To explore these ideas in greater depth, I examined Foucault's later text, *Discipline and Punish* (1991).

2.4 The Processes of Power-Knowledge

For Foucault, an analysis of knowledge and perceptions cannot be achieved just through the examples of knowledge (about terrorism) in themselves, because "it is not the activity of the subject of knowledge that produces a corpus of knowledge, useful or resistant to power, but *power-knowledge*, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge" (Foucault 1991:28). Therefore, the knowledge disclosed by the participants was subject to the processes involved in knowledge formation, and expressed according to the struggles associated with divulging such information: what Foucault categorised as power-knowledge.

Within the context of this thesis, it was assumed that some awareness of terrorism had been formed and integrated into the pupils' memories due to the "micro-physics of power" (Foucault 1991:26) at play within society. The individuals who expressed the ideas, the ideas in themselves, and the modalities of knowledge, were regarded "as so many effects of these fundamental implications of power-knowledge and their historical transformations" (Foucault 1991:28). This is important because it demonstrates that it is not the content of the pupils' knowledge that is being analysed, but rather the expressions of the power-knowledge processes that were recalled and exercised during

the research process that is under scrutiny.

Within the remit of exploring the effects of this exercised power-knowledge, Foucault suggested that it was through the "dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings… [that the] effects of domination are attributed" (Foucault 1991:26). By interpreting these effects of domination as knowable facets of the power-knowledge dynamic, it became possible to produce a framework by which an understanding of this aspect of the data could begin. Therefore, the participants' behaviour, language and inhabited silences did not simply express knowledge about terrorism, but rather the effects of the power-knowledge process, and each of the knowable facets provided a particular insight into how this process functioned within the participant's perceptions of terrorism. However, these facets did not function independently: they formed part of an entire "network of relations" (Foucault 1991:26), that functioned as a whole to produce the perceptions uncovered (and developed) during the research process.

2.4.1 School Discipline

One power-knowledge process identified prior to undertaking the research events was the functionality of school discipline. Foucault provided some initial insights into how discipline was expressed within schools: by the layout or environment of the school; the timetabling and administrative processes; the partitioning and ranking of pupils (according to a hierarchy of knowledge of ability); lesson planning; the classroom layout (such as the use of tables); and the expected behaviours of the pupils towards their teachers (such as putting one's hand up to get attention; see Foucault 1991:141-154). The 'School' "became a machine for learning" (Foucault 1991:164), thus the activities, behaviours and knowledge exhibited by pupils highlight the success (or

failure) of the disciplinary mechanisms at work. However, each school manipulated the various disciplinary mechanisms to suit their specific needs, thus the specific nature of this power-knowledge process will be discussed in more detail within the context of the initial data collection events (see Chapter 5).

2.4.2 State Power and Surveillance

Another process that affected the pupils' disclosure of perceptions about terrorism (and terrorists) were the mechanics of State power and surveillance. According to Foucault, there are certain strategies used to enforce State power over the population (Foucault 1991:26). Historically, the State would use spectacles of power, such as public executions, to arouse "feelings of terror" (Foucault 1991:58) within the population. However, over time, these spectacles became "intolerable… [because they were perceived as] the thirst for revenge" (Foucault 1991:73), thus forms of punishment were altered from the "attack on bodies to… the seizure of goods" (Foucault 1991:76). This change also affected perceptions of criminality: it was no longer just acts of violence, but rather a broader spectrum of criminal acts that became incorporated into the judicial system. However, such changes had wider repercussions on society because extensions to the scope of criminal acts meant that an increased amount of surveillance was required. Such surveillance would need stricter methods or "new tactics" (Foucault 1991:89) by which to uncover criminals, including "a tighter partitioning of the population" (Foucault 1991:77) and "a new economy and a new technology of the power to punish" (Foucault 1991:89).

In short, Foucault speculated that the new methods of surveillance had led to criminal offences becoming objects of revulsion and that any perpetrators of such crimes were

not simply perceived as wrong but rather as individuals opposed to an entire social body: “in order to punish him, society has the right to oppose him in its entirety... the right to punish has been shifted from the vengeance of the sovereign to the defence of society” (Foucault 1991:90). Thus the physical penalty may have become moderate or 'humane', but the criminal himself would be ostracised from society, an “image of the monster” (Foucault 1991:91) who existed “outside nature” (Foucault 1991:91). In those instances where the crime was deemed extreme, “produced in circumstances so extraordinary, in such profound secrecy... the injury that a crime inflicts upon the social body is the disorder that it introduces into it... the example that it gives, the incitement to repeat it... the possibility of becoming widespread” (Foucault 1991:92). In those circumstances, Foucault speculated that such crimes would not just be punished in their own right, but rather that “prevention was expected as an effect of the punishment” (Foucault 1991:93).

Perhaps this is where the power-knowledge functioned within the pupils' perceptions of terrorism. Terrorist attacks are generally considered examples of extreme criminal acts, that are subject to the punishment and prevention techniques suggested by Foucault. However, to prevent the repetition of such acts, the “profound nature of the criminal himself, the presumable degree of his wickedness” (Foucault 1991:98) needs to be taken into account. Thus, the perpetrators (those defined as terrorists) undergo scrutiny: their images, actions and justifications became part of the “play of representations and signs circulating discreetly but necessarily and evidently in the minds of all” (Foucault 1991:101).

Foucault noted that general observed differences, and the process of observing

difference, is part of the power of normalization. Hegemony "introduces, as a useful imperative and a result of measurement, all the shading of individual differences" (Foucault 1991:184). Extreme acts of criminality are most noticeably outside the "norm": they "produce a reality" (Foucault 1991:194) by which perceived representations of this criminality become part of the "normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish" (Foucault 1991:194). However, this power of normalisation also has implications for the pupils themselves: they are not only active participants in using this social surveillance, but they also become subject to the same level of scrutiny, since others will be applying similar forms of surveillance to their mutual surroundings.

In a later series of lectures, Foucault expands on the idea that power-knowledge cannot be exercised "unless a certain economy of discourse of truth functions in, on the basis of, and thanks to, that power" (Foucault 2003:24). This "truth" is expressed and conveyed by laws and justice systems, because it is there that the order of society "has been imposed, the forgotten past of real struggles, actual victories and defeats which may have been disguised but which remain profoundly inscribed" (Foucault 2003:56). Thus the law is a mechanism that has been shaped by the politics of war, and is used to legitimise the exercise of disciplinary power, be that on an international, State, local or even individual level (Foucault 2003:37). It is a case of normalization: normalizing sovereignty and discipline within the scope of some moral and legal "truth" of disciplinary power, to ensure that the mechanisms of power remain active within society (Foucault 2003:39): thus the legal definitions of terrorism should be considered essential to the initial comprehensions of State-defined terrorism, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.5 Conclusion

To aid in the exploration of pupils' perceptions of terrorism, I used a theoretical framework based on the work of Foucault. The hypotheses he laid out in two seminal texts, *The Order of Things* (2002) and *Discipline and Punish* (1991), were examined then modified to suit the needs of this thesis.

I considered the parameters of this research to be initially restricted by the nuances of language, be it the grammatical requirements or the way in which we respectively understand the words used. The examination of Foucault's *The Order of Things* (2002) was useful in this regard because it highlighted how our knowledge of something can never be completely explained because it is confined by the language we discuss it in. Furthermore, although language makes visible ideas that may have once been hidden (Foucault 2002:xx), it also expresses a world of resemblance, reflection and thought (Foucault 2002:35), which requires individuals to have a degree of imagination when interpreting another's point of view (Foucault 2002:69). Therefore, this thesis should be considered a summary of my interpretations of the participant's disclosed knowledge, as I have chosen to research and present it, rather than a complete picture of the participants' perceptions of terrorism.

Once the language was explored and the specific terms or ideas identified, I perceived another influential theoretical layer of social influence within the data. This was what Foucault categorised as “power-knowledge” (Foucault 1991:28): the processes by which information was formed and then disclosed. Foucault suggested that the effects of this process can be known through the “dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques

[and] functionings" (Foucault 1991:26) associated with knowledge. I interpreted these facets as comprehensible aspects of the power-knowledge process; things that can be identified within the data and shed light on why the participants expressed certain forms of knowledge. Foucault also identified some socially-confining processes that affected the data: namely, school discipline; and state power and surveillance (including the power of hegemony). These aspects restricted the scope of the information gathered and highlighted how the parameters of the chosen research environment needed to be taken into consideration when analysing the results.

Foucault's work was used as a philosophical aide because his theories allowed for multiple interpretations to be explored, providing greater depth to our understanding. The perceptions under scrutiny include those recalled examples, information and ideas on terrorism: the recollections of conscious and subconscious associations (such as those found in the historical use of the term), that demonstrate other ideas and power-knowledge dynamics within society. To better comprehend these socially-confined power-knowledge influences, I will now explore those aspects of available knowledge that may have influenced the participants' perceptions: namely, the archaeology of terrorism discourses. This literature review will highlight the available body of knowledge about terrorism and demonstrate the parameters (and limitations) of the perceptions and knowledge available to the participants, some of which may be reiterated during the research process.

Chapter 3

Literature Review: The Archaeology of Knowledge

Discourses on Terrorism

3.1 Introduction: Overview of Background Literature

Foucault's insights into the nature of knowledge provided an explanation into how knowledge formation can impact and affect our comprehension of any idea or phenomenon. With this in mind, I will now explore *what* knowledge and discourses are available on terrorism, as this will demonstrate the potential information that contributed to the perceptions divulged by the research participants. However, the knowledge discourses explored in this chapter should be considered snapshots of the knowledge available on the topic, rather than a complete picture of the possible perceptions held by the participants. Any emerging ideas discovered within the results will be isolated and explored during my analyses, and additional literature will be used to aid the conclusions reached.

As Foucault suggested, choosing an appropriate route through the archaeology of knowledge discourses requires detailed consideration, because the divisions made will affect the nature and focus of the overall research project (Foucault 2002:xxi). Furthermore, the ideas and sources used within each division will favour certain knowledge discourses above others, again highlighting those ideas that I deemed useful or appropriate for this study. However, I consider this bias a necessary route into the data: it does not detract from the relevance or usefulness of this thesis, but rather highlights those avenues of investigation that provide a systematic approach to the field

of study.

Foucault's focus on “resemblance” (Foucault 2002:17) is a useful aid here: he suggested that in the Classical Age, the interpretation of texts relied on resemblance to organise the symbols or knowledge available. It was a history of ideas that focused on similarity rather than difference, the convergence of ideas rather than concepts that were excluded from our knowledge (Foucault 2002:xxiii). Therefore, to comprehend the nature of knowledge relating to terrorism, an appropriate starting point could be where the symbols and ideas converge (Foucault 2002:17): namely, the semantics of terrorism. Although studies of semantics and semiotics has its own archaeology and discourses, often attributed to the structuralists Pierce or de Saussure, the basic premise of such studies revolves around how signs have developed and what function these signs have within a cultural context (Robinson 2003:7): concepts which can be used in conjunction with Foucault's post-structuralist work for the purpose of examining why specific signifiers, words and phrases have been used to describe and explain terrorism.

Thus this exploration of terrorism discourses begins with an examination of the definition(s) of terrorism. However, this initial exploration demonstrates how such knowledge is fraught with additional problems and considerations because there is no single definition, no universal list of signs and synonyms that are used to describe the phenomenon (see Meggle 2006:11-24 for some philosophical insights into the terminological implications of terrorism, terrorist and terrorist acts). Perhaps this is due to the nature of terrorism in itself, or due to the effects of power-knowledge dynamics at work when the term is used: either way, the definitions of terrorism have their own dynamics that required additional divisions to ensure comprehension.

My initial findings suggested that the definitions seemed to be affected by dominant socially defined categories, such as law, political meanings, media definitions and so on. I consequently decided to investigate such divisions, and used them to provide a route into the literature. These five sections or "arenas" are: the academic arena; terrorism and the State; public debates and the media; discourses from those who support terrorism; and discourses from the school arena.[2] These divisions are loosely based on the work of Schmid (1992), who argued (like Foucault) that definitions of terrorism differ according to author and intended audience. His analysis of the language used to describe terrorism highlighted how the phenomenon has been perceived by the influential scholars in that arena, and also demonstrated how the term was defined by, and within, each arena, for specific audiences.

The chapter begins with an exploration of the academic arena, since this is the arena from where the research has been conducted. The findings from this arena are influential for schools because educationalists may use such literature to inform or support any over-arching curriculum guidelines. After this section, I move onto explore the other arenas outlined above and finally make some conclusions from the literature that I consider important to the overall thesis.

3.2 The Academic Arena

The academic discourse on definitions of terrorism is extensive and can itself be divided into distinctive categories, such as historical examples, motivations for terrorism, terrorist activities and so on. Schmid's study (1992) provided a useful insight into some

[2] The "school" arena is a demarcation I devised to ensure that the specific literature and concepts affecting my data collection could be better understood.

of these divisions and his summary of responses from academics in the field resulted in the following definition:

> Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action… for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons... The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators (Schmid 1992:8).

A later study by Weinburg *et. al.* (2004:783) used Schmid's work to guide an investigation into the definitions of terrorism from various journal articles. The study found that terrorism was given the following attributes: violence, politics, fear, threat, psychological effects, extra normal behaviour (breaching accepted rules), coercion, publicity, indiscriminate, intimidation, innocence of victims, symbolic act and criminal (Weinburg *et. al.* 2004:781).[3] These studies highlighted a continuation of certain ideas including terrorism as a method of combat, involving a threat of violence and used for a political purpose. However, such similarities in attributes are not in themselves evidence of complete semantic agreement; the sources used in both studies were specific to the author's exploration of the topic and only demonstrate some of the ideas associated with terrorism. Furthermore, it is questionable how and why these words were associated with terrorism, because each one had its own interpretation and discourse. Therefore, examining each word only provides certain insights: it is within their *convergence* on the table of terrorism discourses that their contextual meaning emerges. Thus, although perceptions of each idea feeds into our comprehension of terrorism, it is only within the context of terrorism discourses that we can understand what aspects of those ideas are

[3] Note that these key terms were used to help guide my study and contributed to the questions asked during the research events.

applicable to our knowledge of terrorism. These terms should therefore be understood as representations of knowledge, that form part of the knowledge cycle between representations and interpretations of those representations (Foucault 2002:23).

3.2.1 Historical Overviews

Some scholars would question the usefulness of the studies conducted by Schmid and Weinburg *et. al.* because they cannot provide a comprehensive definition: terrorism has appeared in many different forms, under different circumstances (Laqueur 1977:5). Laqueur noted that terms such as guerilla warfare, extremism and so on, are often used interchangeably as synonyms for terrorism, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to find a single historical example that one can refer to as the agreed-upon archetype of terrorism (Laqueur 2004:2). If we reflect on Foucault's ideas for a moment here, we are reminded that such alternative terms and their associated ideas are not separate from the overall understandings of a concept (in this case, terrorism), but rather continuations of ideas, presented in another form (Foucault 2002:36). Therefore, even though Laqueur argued that such concepts or events are not terrorism *per se*, the use of them demonstrated that they could be interpreted as such. Indeed, Laqueur himself used these terms to provide an historical overview of terrorism in *The Terrorism Reader* (2004), where he incorporated literature on tyranny, guerrilla warfare and armed struggles. Therefore, despite his claim that such ideas are not necessarily terrorism, he evidently agrees that there is something about these examples that helps explain our current understanding of the phenomenon.

Alternative historical overviews, such as those of Chaliand and Blin (2007), Lutz and Lutz (2005) or Law (2009), similarly incorporate examples that were not categorised as

terrorism at the time. Law claims that such examples are necessary because we should not be limited by modern definitions of the phenomenon: “proto-terrorism” groups and events can be found throughout the ancient and modern worlds. He justifies this claim by stating that terrorism as a word is “used by a society's dominant political and cultural authorities to condemn forms of violence regarded as fundamentally illegitimate” (Law 2009:11). He focuses on the behavioural and motivational *characteristics* of certain historical examples, such as the Sicarii Zealots (Law 2009:26) and the Assassins (Law 2009:39), to provide insights into modern comprehensions of the phenomenon, rather than just examples where the label of terrorism was used to describe the group or event. Larsson similarly uses these examples, but claims that the parallels found between the groups is based on the etymology of the word “terrorism”; namely that it is an act that intended to create terror and fear, and the perpetrators' desire to have an audience witness the act (Larsson 2004:40).

However, by dividing the examples into “proto-terrorism” and “terrorism”, Law has suggested that there is indeed an historical event that could be categorised as the first instance of what is called terrorism. According to Martin, this point was when the British statesman Edmund Burke described Robespierre's actions during the French Revolution as a “Reign of Terror” (1793-1794) (Martin 2010:24; also see Hoffman 2006 and Jackson *et. al.* 2011). Yet, this example does not provide a complete explanation for the term's current use, or attempted application to the examples seen in historical overviews. The “Reign of Terror” was a specific period of French history, linked to State and Revolutionary activities that occurred during that time, that has subsequently been perceived as a turning point in the history of terrorism. Therefore it was not the event in itself that affected our understanding, but rather the facets or characteristics of

it that have been deemed applicable to previous, and subsequent, examples used within the literature.

An examination of these characteristics is problematic though, because the word has become so diffused, used to describe numerous events and groups, including animal rights activists, cyber-terrorists and so on, that its "original" contextual meaning has almost become lost. The activities or motivations attributed to the "Reign of Terror" are not always witnessed within other contexts. According to Laqueur, this is because the word has altered over time: it was once "value free" (Laqueur 2004:3), but has now become a "dirty word" (Laqueur 2004:4). Although I would agree that terrorism has been affected by "the dispersion of time" (Foucault 2002:338), I doubt that the term was ever "value free" because even within the context of Robespierre's "Reign of Terror", the word had a derogatory meaning and was used to condemn the behaviour. Therefore, perhaps it is not within the specific examples that we can comprehend the term's use, but rather, as Law suggested, within the perceptions of an event that provides a route into comprehending the convergence of definitions of terrorism. Using the term generally implies that one considers the method illegitimate, perhaps because we do not share the goal or motivation, or because we think there may have been an alternative method available.

3.2.2 Defining Terrorism in terms of Motivations

According to Sartori, definitions of terrorism are linked by the motivations of the perpetrators or the views of their victims (Sartori 1984:28-35). This does not necessary mean that there is a definable perpetrator or victim of terrorism, but rather that our understanding of terrorism has been shaped by the notion that such ideas are associated

with it. Thus, if we are 'the witnesses' or 'victims' of terrorism, and 'our' public agents are those who “affix the label on acts of violence that makes them terrorism” (Juergensmeyer 2000:5), then terrorism is not defined by a specific event or group, but rather from the perception of ourselves as the victims of terrorism. This idea demonstrates what Foucault calls “power-knowledge” (Foucault 1991:28): by perceiving ourselves as “victims” we are engaging in those influential social-power discourses that use terrorism as a pejorative term.

However, categorising an act as one of terrorism or violence is also dependant upon “the mechanism of attribution of violence to an act, a situation, an event [and thus] varies between cultures and approaches” (Magnani 2011:10). Therefore, our comprehension of violence and terrorism is confined to our normative cultural expectations of behaviour. Similarly, those who are categorised as “terrorists” by “us” would not use the word to describe themselves, but see themselves within their own cultural norms and values, perhaps resulting in them defining themselves as the victims instead and thus justify their behaviour using alternative understandings and normative evaluations of the situation (see Chapter 3.5).

Within the cultural backdrop we find ourselves in, there are certain individuals and groups who are categorised as terrorists by the legal framework of the State (as I will be discussed in Chapter 3.3), and the reasons why these groups are defined as such could be a result of the power-knowledge discourses associated with global trends and international (or local) relations. In Rapoport's thesis on the “four waves” of terrorism (Rapoport 2004), he argues that modern or global terrorism began in the 1880s in Russia with the “Anarchist wave”, closely followed by “three similar, consecutive and

overlapping expressions" (Rapoport 2004:47) – the "anticolonial wave", the "New Left wave" and finally the "religious wave". By comprehending the "dominant energy" (Rapoport 2004:47) within each historical "wave", we can begin to understand how terrorism has been affected by the converging ideas within a particular time period. Not just converging in the sense of the motivations or activities of specific groups, but also within how and why those groups were categorised or perceived as "terrorists" during that time.

3.2.2a Terrorism and Religion

For my thesis, I am most interested in the "religious wave", because it is here that we currently find ourselves; perceptions of terrorism in the academic arena are dominated by the notion that they are somehow associated with religion. According to Rapoport, post-1980s terrorism saw the beginnings of this "wave", with Islam "at the heart… [because] Islamic groups have conducted the most significant, deadly and profoundly international attacks" (Rapoport 2004:61). Although there have been historical examples of what some scholars would call Islam-inspired terrorism (Conrad and Milton 2013:318), the most recent "religious wave" began in 1979, where three significant events occurred in the Islamic world: the Iranian Revolution; the beginning of a new Islamic century; and the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. Rapoport argued that the chronology of terrorist attacks after these events demonstrated that most groups, either religious or secular, were formed in reaction to, or influenced by, a religious ideology and thus 1979 should be considered a turning point in our current understanding of terrorism. An interesting comparison to this interpretation could be the way in which religion was perceived in relation to the Northern Ireland conflict (see Mitchell 2006 and Brewer *et. al.* 2013), however these discourses go

beyond the scope of this overview.

Other scholars similarly claim that we live in an age of "new terrorism", which is "a very different and potentially far more lethal threat than the…'traditional' terrorist groups" (Hoffman 2006:200). Modern groups have "radically different value systems, mechanisms of legitimisation and justification, concepts of morality and world view" (Hoffman 2006:87). Although some scholars doubt whether "new terrorism" really exists (Gray 2009 and Spencer 2006) because the dynamics of "new terrorism" could be a result of new technologies, such as the Internet, rather than a distinctive change in the nature of terrorism, I would argue that the religious association made to terrorism in recent times has been essential to understanding the academic arena (see Rennie and Tite 2008). I have found that religion, particularly radical Islam, is frequently credited as "the most important defining characteristic...[of] new terrorism" (Schmid 1988:82) and the individuals associated with such groups see their struggle as good against evil and dehumanise their victims (Cronin 2003:41), which has resulted in the indiscriminate killing of civilians (Schmid 1988:88).

One potent example referenced in most of the literature on modern terrorism is al-Qaeda, particularly in post-9/11 texts, which almost always included a comment or overview of the event and its links to the Islamic (and global) nature of current attacks (some examples include Burke 2012, Jenkins *et. al.* 2011 and Melnick 2011). However, the events of 9/11 do not in themselves demonstrate the current parameters for terrorism definitions and discourses, but rather the current power-knowledge discourses on terrorism: authors have felt it necessary to include such discussions, perhaps to ensure interest or validity, or perhaps in response to current trends within the other arenas of

terrorism discourses. Whatever has caused this inclusion, it is the continued focus upon it that has ensured its remembrance and status within the literature.

According to Burke, the importance placed on 9/11 as an example of terrorism needs to be understood within the context of American perceptions of identity, as expressed by Bush, Huntington and Lewis (Burke 2012:xii). He argued that American non-conservative political thought promotes a global hegemony, be that religiously, culturally, militarily, economically or politically (Burke 2012:87), resulting in an identity that directly opposes the American self-view (and thus requires condemnation). Scholars such as Huntington (1997) and Lewis (2002 and 2004) are used to justify this perception of difference, because they divide the world in global terms: Western capitalist non-Islamic powers versus the Islamic non-capitalist world. These arbitrary differences also express a moral divide because 9/11 can be perceived as a representation of how the Islamic world is "evil" and America is "good" (Foucault 2002:336). The consequence of this has been a rise in anti-Islamic or Islamophobic literature and groups: books by Fallaci (2002) or Pipes (2003), websites such as www.thereligionofpeace.com, or groups such as the English Defence League, all serve as examples of the strength of these negative perceptions about Islam.

However, these representations are contested, not least of all within the literature on Islam and violence. Some have argued that these examples of terrorism are unfair representations of the faith, that Islam is a religion of peace (for example www.islamonline.com), thus any violence committed in its name is incorrect and should not be categorised as "Islamic" (al-Quds al-Arabi 2001). Therefore, Huntington's assertion that there is a clash of civilisations "is not a reality" (Ramadan 2004:226).

However, others argue that there are real concerns about Islamic associations to terrorism, therefore Muslims should respond and "recognise the validity [of this sad truth] and not compose articles and speeches declaring our innocence" (al-Rashid 2004). Muslims could instead take practical measures to help "overcome" terrorism within Islamic communities, perhaps through improving youth education or by expanding inter-faith and community relationships (some British groups that have implemented these ideas include the Muslim Council of Britain, the Association of British Muslims, the Islamic Society of Britain and so on). According to Ramadan, peace and cohesion lies at the heart of Islam and Muslims should "develop an understanding of the Western context that will make it possible for them… to integrate… in the culture where they live" (Ramadan 2004:216).

In spite of these efforts though, some scholars think that the continued focus on 9/11 as an example of terrorism has had a lasting, and detrimental, social effect on Muslims, resulting in a lack of employment and continuing prejudice, which makes it difficult for some Muslims to feel integrated into society (Aziz 2009). However, others think that these issues are not related to perceptions of terrorism but rather have other causes (Saggar 2009 and Siddiqui interview in Quartermaine 2014a). I would argue that due to the strength of the perceived terrorist threat, Islamic communities have had community cohesion and integration difficulties in the UK (also see Pantazis and Pemberton 2009), but this debate goes beyond the remit of this thesis.

Another view is that these (perceived) social difficulties and issues have actually resulted in a rise of aggressive responses from al-Qaeda inspired groups. For example, Milton-Edwards stated that "since 9/11, the meaning of modernity has been altered and

is now embedded in the expression of western security interests and the arguments for democratic protectionism. However, this war on terror… is also increasingly understood within Muslim communities as a declaration of war against them and the values that define them and their faith system" (Milton-Edwards 2006:x). In other words, the use of 9/11 as an example of Islamic aggression, and the subsequent responses from American (and allied) forces, has resulted in some Muslims becoming more disillusioned with the possibility of reconciliation between the "West" and "Islam" and have subsequently used this as a rallying point to encourage further acts of aggression (see Nasr 2002 and Said 2008:378). However, by doing so, the negative perceptions of Islam and its links to modern terrorism become further entrenched by those who already agree with such concepts, which has caused some sections of society to experience enhanced community cohesion difficulties (Juergensmeyer 2000 and Afsaruddin 2009).

3.2.3 Terrorism, Extremism and Fundamentalism

It is not just Islamic followers who have experienced problems after 9/11. According to Larsson, 9/11 "seems to solidify notions of religion as a threat to international peace and security" (Larsson 2004:19). However, how one defines a "religious" actor is fraught with difficulties because many adherents to any faith would argue that those who perform acts of terror are not part of their religion: they have misunderstood the true meaning of the faith and gone beyond the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. Yet, conversely, if we do not apply religious meaning and comprehension to these groups or individuals, it becomes difficult to understand their motivations and defining them as anything else "misunderstands religion and underestimates its ability to underwrite deadly conflict on its own terms" (Appleby 1999:30). According to Hoffman, this is a distinctive form of terrorism because the violence not only has a moral justification, but

is believed necessary for achieving the followers' goals: religion legitimises the cause and struggle of the terrorist (Hoffman 1993:2-3).

To combat this problem, many scholars use alternative descriptive concepts such as radicalisation, extremism and fundamentalism, because these demonstrate a distinction between those who follow the "normal" religion and isolate "religion's problems to a deviant form of the species" (Juergensmeyer 2004:ix). Although these terms are sometimes used interchangeably (Nassar-Eddine *et.al.* 2011:9), I would argue that there are subtle differences in how and when they used. After much consideration and a detailed examination of the literature, I would state that the term "radicalisation" describes the process by which an individual becomes radical or extreme; "extremism"[4] relates to the carrying out of such ideas; and "fundamentalism" relates to the extreme version of religious-inspired ideology that could motivate such groups or individuals.[5]

However, there are difficulties with differentiating the terms in this manner, because such divisions do not take into account how the use of these terms can affect and influence the interpretations and implementation of counter-terrorism legislation (see Heath-Kelly 2013). They do suggest a method by which we can better comprehend the nature of their relationship with their religious community, namely they promote "religiously-inspired goals against their society's norms" (Bruce 2000:5) and thus exist within the spectrum of religious understanding, but are outside (and distinct from) the rest of the religious community: but their use can also be devisive. This is particularly noticeable when relating terrorism to fundamentalism, because "even in its original

[4] Please note that the term "extremism" has become increasingly used within public discourses to denote religious conservation and is often applied to the strategies used to counter certain ideologies that are considered likely to lead to violence or terrorism.

[5] My definitions have been articulated after examining a wide range of sources and the results from this thesis, however there are alternative definitions, such as those found in dictionaries or in H.M. Government 2011b.

manifestation, [fundamentalism] claimed... no mandate for violence" (Barkun 2003:60). The term has certain nuances that can be associated with peaceful expressions of religious belief, thus it is only some fundamentalist groups who could potentially be described as violent terrorists. According to Ruthven, the very association of fundamentalism with terrorism has resulted in fundamentalism being used as "a term of abuse" (Ruthven 2005:5), rather than as a useful demarcation in discussions about religiously-inspired terrorism. For this reason, I have decided to avoid using this word, as well as radicalisation and extremism, as synonyms for terrorism and will instead apply them when necessary, using the interpretations outlined above.

An additional word that requires a brief examination is the Islamic concept of *jihad*, because it is sometimes used to describe those forms of terrorism associated with Islam. In simple terms, the word is translated as "struggle" or (incorrectly) as "just war" (Brahmani 2010:2) but the actual meaning and application of this concept is much more complex. The Islamic scholar Firestone proposed that it can be understood in four ways: as a non-military way of defending the faith (Qur'an 29:46); in a manner that restricts fighting (Qur'an 2:190); or to fight when necessary (Qur'an 2:216); and finally to fight in defence of God's religion (Qur'an 2:191) (Firestone 1999:69). In addition to the Qur'anic origins of *jihad,* most scholars would argue that other important sources, such as the *hadith* and *sunnah* of the Prophet, as well as examples from Islamic history, are required before making a judgement on which form of *jihad* (if any) is applicable to the events or context. As Brahmani explained, "*jihad* embodies a strict ethical code on the permissible and the impermissible in war" (Brahmani 2010:5), therefore the concept should only be used if, or when, necessary. However, the word has become hijacked – either by those categorised as Islamic extremists (who use it to justify their activities),

or in media or political rhetoric, in an attempt to explain or describe the behaviours exhibited by such groups (Bonney 2004). The actual meaning and use of *jihad* is a highly contested category (the discourses of which go beyond the remit of this thesis), but it is important to note the complications involved when using this word due to its continued use within certain discourses about terrorism.

3.2.4 Conclusion

Although it is difficult to know someone's true motivation for performing acts of terrorism, I would argue that the increased focus on religious forms of terrorism in the academic arena demonstrates how the phenomenon is generally perceived by scholars. Some scholars and commentators may argue that the use of religion is simply an excuse for something that is politically or economically motivated (Dawkins 2006), but the fact remains that some perpetrators and victims of terrorism do claim that religion has motivated the violent behaviour witnessed in recent times (either as an instigator of or as a result of terrorism). This does not mean that religion is the sole cause for such behaviour, but rather that if a group uses religious language to explain its motivations then we should acknowledge that as important to them. By appreciating the importance they place on religion we can begin to understand their world-view and reasoning, and further understand why such ideas have become so dominant within the literature.

The reasons for the noticeable focus on religious forms of terrorism could relate to those power-knowledge dynamics that exist within the relationship between the State and Academic arenas (for example, the State may provide funding for those research proposals that are in-keeping with current political agendas). It is probable that such dynamics have shaped our current understanding of the phenomenon since State powers

use certain scholarly discourses to justify certain laws and counter-terrorism activities. As Rapoport (2004) and Burke (2012) argued, global and UK political ideologies have contributed to, and even shaped, the normative perceptions of terrorism found in the academic arena and UK population, as the following exploration of the State arena will now demonstrate.

3.3 The State Arena

Terrorism discourses within the State arena demonstrate the relevance of this thesis to the wider audience: recent UK counter-terrorism policies suggest using the education system to help prevent terrorism (as I will discuss further in Chapter 3.6; also see H.M. Government 2011b:65-71). However, for the purposes of my research, I have not used these policies for my research design, but rather focussed on the *implications* of them: namely, how the power-knowledge dynamic of government policy may have affected the pupils' perceptions of terrorism (Foucault 1991). As Foucault noted, the historical and current landscape for any object of representation (in this case, terrorism) is subject to memory recollection, and the reasons why such memories are recalled provides certain insights or perceptions about the object being represented (Foucault 2002:115). There are certain power-dynamics at play within such recollections: the recaller of information (in this case, the State) divulges certain information, that feeds from existing knowledge discourses, and presents it to the audience in a manner they deem most suitable.

For the State, these presentations of knowledge can have far-reaching effects, not only in shaping the opinions expressed by policy makers and other government agencies, but also in the activities of those who are required to implement the suggestions made

within such documents. To comprehend the parameters of what the State categorises as "terrorism", I initially investigated the legal definitions, because these have shaped the understandings and responses used by governments (Foucault 2003:37). However, UK terrorism law is not only formed by the country's requirements, but also by international bodies, such as the UN, due to the trans-national nature of some terrorist attacks. Thus, I have begun by exploring the definitions of terrorism found in international and UK law, before moving onto specific UK policy documents detailing those counter-terrorism measures that affect the education system.

3.3.1 International and UK Legal Definitions

Schmid's analysis of the State arena similarly begins with a comparative examination of international and British legal definitions of terrorism (Schmid 1992:10). Although the definitions used by Schmid have changed since the publication of his article, current UK counter-terrorism legal policies can still be linked to international ideas, particularly with respect to security issues, the criminality of certain offences and counter-terrorism approaches (see Cronin 2003). For example, the UN condemned terrorism as: "criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror… [they are] in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them." (UN Declaration, 1994). More recent UN documents, such as the 2006 UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (A/RES/60/288), reaffirm this definition, adding that in order to address the conditions conducive to the spreading of terrorism, the UN needs to "promote dialogue, tolerance and understanding among civilizations, cultures, people and religions… by establishing and encouraging, as appropriate, education and public awareness programmes involving all sectors of society" (UN 2006:I.2-3). UK Counter-

terrorism strategies, as outlined by CONTEST (which explains how the government intends to Pursue, Prevent, Protect and Prepare against terrorism, H.M. Government 2011a) similarly focus on the illegal activities of terrorists and provide some similar proposals for the implementation of counter-terrorism measures.

However, there is no universal legal definition of terrorism and in 2004, the UN was concerned that its notable "[l]ack of agreement on a clear and well-known definition undermines the normative and moral stance against terrorism and has stained the United Nations image" (UN Report, 2004). This problem is replicated within other State definitions of the term. For example, in the United States, four government agencies had different definitions.[6] These state that terrorism is the use of illegal violence, intended to coerce individuals or the government to act differently towards particular situations, be that a political or ideological agenda. In the UK, similar definitional problems exist. For example, section 1 of the Terrorism Act 2000[7] stated that "terrorism" is when "the use or threat [of violence] is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause". (Terrorism Act 2000, section 1, part 1, c). However, this is not the only legal definition of terrorism in the UK, and The Reinsurance (Acts of Terrorism) Act 1993 section 2(2) does not include "religion" in its definition (Carlile 2007:7).

Lord Carlile's report on the UK terrorism laws has been particularly influential for current legislation (H.M. Government 2009b): he preferred the Terrorism Act 2000 over the earlier definition, but was aware of the problems with it since some have argued that it is too broad for criminal law, leaving it open for political bias or misuse (Carlile

[6] These include the United States House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (2002), the State Department (1984), the Federal Bureau of Investigation or FBI (1999) and the Department of Defence or DOD (2000). See Schmid 2005:2

[7] This document has been amended since 2000, thus I have used the latest edition, found on http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2000/ukpga_20000011_en_1 [accessed July 2013]

2007:21). As the legal scholar Brandon noted, it did not specify that the government should be democratically elected and it could be inferred that "the threat or use of action against an undemocratic or illegitimate government anywhere in the world for a political, ideological or religious purpose is therefore terrorism according to the Terrorism Act 2000" (Brandon 2004:988). Furthermore, this Act could breach Human Rights Law: it suggested that exceptional powers can be used when reprimanding potential terrorists, such as prolonging detention or criminalising those involved in the "encouragement of terrorism". To condemn someone for "reckless speech" could breach the human right to freedom of opinion (Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948), thus a distinction should be made between the spoken word and how others interpret them (Liberty 2006:13. Also Awan 2008). However, Carlile argued that those who have opposed the definition used in the Terrorism Act 2000 have not given another to replace it, thus he felt it appropriate to continue using it.

He also clarified why a separate law for terrorism was required: "terrorism crime is different. Fanatics and others moved by a fervent ideological or similar purpose are less predictable than professional criminals" (Carlile 2007:24). Therefore, the motivation and ideology makes the act one of terrorism rather than just the criminality of the act in itself. Carlile claims that the most dangerous form of ideology comes from those "dedicated to violent and lethal *jihad*" (Carlile 2007:24), which highlighted Islamic forms of terrorism above others (although there is no detailed explanation given for this bias and some have questioned whether this is correct, see Miller and Sabir 2012:88). He believed that it was necessary to include religious motivations in the definition of terrorism (Carlile 2007:32), but some campaigners have raised concerns about the incorporation of religion in legal documents, believing that this may cause

discrimination against certain groups (see Khan 2009, Kundnani 2009 and Marshall 2009). Carlile dismisses these complaints, stating that "it is just foolish to suggest that there is some form of discrimination against any religious group" (Carlile 2007:32). However, Carlile himself used specific groups to describe terrorism (namely Islamic "jihadists"), so this concern was evidently a valid one and should have been addressed with more care. According to Modood, the continuing focus on Islamic links to terrorism has produced negative views of Muslims, who are deemed "key political minority identity" (Modood 2006:42); Samad goes further, stating that Muslims have become "demonised" (Samad 2007:17). Whether true or not, such perceptions in themselves highlight the deeper social issues surrounding the topic of terrorism, in particular, the rise of Islamophobia (Levidow 2007), and thus it is debatable whether such ideas should be incorporated into legal definitions of terrorism.

Despite these problems, the incorporation of religious motivation into legal definitions of terrorism is useful for the State in ensuring that the phenomenon is definable and differentiated from "normal" society (and other criminal activities). As Foucault noted, observed differences, and the process of observing difference, is part of the power of normalization (Foucault 1991:184) that has become part of the surveillance machinery and State disciplinary techniques (Foucault 1991:177). Therefore, by highlighting (and differentiating) the Islamic links to terrorism in legal documentation, the State has been provided with a perceived higher level of legitimacy for the exhibition of its disciplinary powers (and surveillance) within the "associated" Islamic community: as demonstrated by implementation of the Prevent Strategy. Indeed, the level of power exhibited by the legal documents should not be under-estimated: the categorisation of specific actions and motives as ones of "terrorism" has a profound effect on the perceived criminality of

particular offences and on counter-terrorism measures, as I will now explore.

3.3.2 UK Counter-Terrorism Policy: The Prevent Strategy

In the UK, one of the most important counter-terrorism policy documents is CONTEST (H.M. Government 2011a), which details how the government intends to Pursue, Prevent, Protect and Prepare against terrorism. The Prevent Strategy is particularly relevant because this includes elements that affect education (as I will discuss in the Chapter 3.6); for this section I will focus on the general implications of current policy guidelines.

Both the previous and current governments used the Prevent Strategy (H.M. Government 2008 and 2011b), albeit with some adjustments in terms of delivery and funding allocation (H.M. Government 2011b:1). The most significant alteration was the separation of community cohesion projects from other Prevent activities, because previous funding allocation had been criticised for its heavy focus on the Islamic community (H.M. Government 2011b:7 and Khan 2009:4). Cantle's politically influential definition of community cohesion stated that it "reflects divisions based upon identifiable communities, generally on the basis of faith or ethnic distinctions, which may reflect socio-economic differences… It is undermined by the disadvantage, discrimination and disaffection experienced by the identifiable community as a whole and by the lack of trust and understanding resulting from segregation and social separateness" (Cantle 2008:54-5). The inclusion of a religious social division influenced the original parameters of community cohesion programmes for Prevent, further demonstrating how it had been "shaped within a specific political context in which there were already very strong and politically dominant views about the dislocation of

Muslim communities" (Husband and Alum 2011:18).

However, despite Prevent funding being reduced for community cohesion programmes, the idea that they can help prevent terrorism still resonates within 2011 version of this policy. I would suggest that the reasons for this are due to the tension between different power-knowledge discourses found at the international and UK level. On an international level, the UK generally follows UN or EU guidelines (see UN 2006:I.2-3), but the implementation of such ideas in the UK has been controversial, with many strongly condemning the attempts made by the 2008 Prevent Strategy. One government report stated the funding was not adequately managed (House of Commons Community and Local Government Committee 2010:61), thus community cohesion projects were decoupled from Prevent because "Prevent depends on a successful integration strategy but that strategy by itself will not deliver the Prevent objectives" (H.M. Government 2011b:30). Furthermore, the policy received negative publicity because "the term *Preventing Violent Extremism*… was seen by many Muslim community members and some stakeholders as insulting [and] provocative" (Waterhouse Consulting Group 2008:42. Also Kundani 2009). Therefore, community cohesion approaches are still considered necessary for effective counter-terrorism measures, but they are (supposedly) no longer directly associated with Prevent.

Although this change in funding allocation could be seen as a positive alteration, the 2011 Prevent Strategy still receives criticism over its continued focus on countering al-Qaeda-inspired terrorism above other terrorist groups and ideologies. One study by Miller and Sabir into the propaganda surrounding terrorism suggested that this threat has been over-emphasised and that a more serious and sustained threat to the UK comes

from armed groups in Northern Ireland rather than from “Islamist” groups (Miller and Sabir 2012:87). Furthermore, “official briefings on alleged [al-Qaeda inspired] 'plots' are not always reliable, whether by mistake or design” (Miller and Sabir 2012:90); thus the focus on al-Qaeda may not reflect the reality of potential attacks from this group, which has resulted in some questioning the validity of the policy.

Due to the claims made in the research conducted by Miller and Sabir, it is difficult to conclusively decide on the truth of the situation. However, regardless of whether or not the focus on al-Qaeda is an accurate representation of the terrorist threat, I would argue that this presentation of terrorism is problematic because it affects the wider Islamic community in the UK (Soundings 2011). As Awan noted, the language used in Prevent 2011 could promote the idea that Muslims are the key demographic for countering radicalisation, either through Islamic theological education or through surveillance measures within Islamic communities (Awan 2012:1170), which has the potential to “stigmatize the entire populations” (Awan 2012:1166. Also see H.M. Government 2011b:17-18, 31-32 and 43-49). Allen similarly argued that the association of *jihad* to terrorism may intensify Islamophobic reactions to Muslim communities (Allen 2010). Therefore, Prevent could actually be counter-productive to community cohesion efforts: focussing on a terrorist threat that is linked to a specific minority community in the UK could intensify those problems that it was attempting to subvert.

3.3.3 Conclusion

The counter-terrorism measures expressed and exercised through UK legislation and policy implementation demonstrate the nature of the discourses found within the political arena. The incorporation of religious motivation into legal documents, as well

as the continued focus on al-Qaeda inspired terrorism within policy documents, has had a profound effect on the perceived criminality of those associated offences, as well as on the counter-terrorism measures put in place to help prevent them from occurring, in particular those measures used within Islamic communities.

The views expressed in political documents has also affected the perceptions of terrorism found within the other arenas because they provide the guidelines by which the boundaries of acceptable beliefs and behaviour have become known. Thus those individuals who choose to act outside these boundaries become categorised as terrorists: a categorisation which remains with them and is used in the other arenas as an accepted description for those individuals or groups under discussion. However, the power of this categorisation not only affects those called "terrorists", but also those groups or individuals who could (however loosely) be associated with them. The incorporation of religious associations to terrorism within political discourses is particularly problematic because it has resulted in anyone associated with the religion becoming subject to anything from prejudices to physical restrictions in civil liberties (placed under the guise of counter-terrorism measures).

3.4 The Media Arena

The media, by which I mean the collective range of sources from printed materials to new media, including websites, computer games, and so on (Messenger Davies 2010:14), are the means by which the general public, and (I would hypothesise) the research participants, disseminate information about terrorism. These sources form part of pupils "out-of-class curriculum" (Semali 2003:271) and are thus important in shaping their perceptions of terrorism.

Schmid's analysis of this arena is a little dated, but it does provide an initial insight into how our perceptions of terrorism have been affected by the "dispersion" (Foucault 2002:155) or elapsation of time. Schmid stated that hostage taking, assassinations and indiscriminate bombings were the most common examples of terrorism within 1992 (printed) media sources (Schmid 1992:9). However, these examples were only sometimes categorised as terrorism, which Schmid believed was due to how the victims (and wider public) perceived such events (Schmid 1992:11). For example, for an assassination to be called a terrorist attack, the victim was typically someone who was unaware that he was party to a conflict and the attack was unexpected; it was an act of terrorism because "we are caught by surprise… Terrorism is the calculated causing of extreme anxiety of becoming a victim of arbitrary violence and the exploitation of this emotional reaction for manipulative purposes" (Schmid 1992:11).

Despite the changes found in current examples of terrorism, the idea that there are "victims" of terrorist attacks has remained important in the categorisation of such attacks in the media arena (a facet that was also noticeable in the other arenas). Current media coverage of terrorism has also increased, due to the wider variety of media outlets and the faster pace by which information can be presented to a global audience via digital technologies. This in turn has intensified "the spectacular capacities of terrorism" (Freedman and Kishan Thussu 2012:10), resulting in many scholars perceiving the relationship between terrorism and the media as a "communicative act" (Hoskins and O'Laughlin 2007:9); it can be of mutual benefit to both the terrorists and the media sources distributing information about their activities (Hoskins and O'Laughlin 2007:102). As the terrorism expert Hoffman stated, "terrorism and the

media are bound together in an inherently symbiotic relationship, each feeding off and exploiting the other for their own purposes" (Hoffman 1998:142). However, the complex power-dynamics involved in this symbiotic process extend beyond exploitative publicity and feed into wider issues of political propaganda, social representations and a meta-narrative of terrorism.

3.4.1 Media Representations of Terrorism

As Foucault explained, the representations and perceptions of something, in this case terrorism, are restricted by, and subjected to, the powerful recollection of similar examples (Foucault 2002:69). Thus, media sources tend to use previous examples, such as 9/11, to help readers comprehend how recent events could be considered similar. As the news articles surrounding the attacks on a soldier in Woolwich, UK (22nd May 2013) demonstrated, using known terms and ideas helped explain his motivations and why the attack was categorised as one of terrorism (see Rayner and Swinford 2013). Even when the event was not performed by someone inspired by al-Qaeda, such as the attacks by Anders Breivik in Norway (22nd July 2011), there were examples of newspapers paralleling the attacks to 9/11 (see Flynn and Hughes 2011). However, in the later case, there was a noticeable lack of coverage concerning Breivik's personal religious affiliation to Christianity, which differed to the noticeable Islamic connections made to the perpetrators in the Woolwich case.

These examples highlight the "bond of representation" (Foucault 2002:65) found in all arenas: the categorisation of an event as one of "terrorism" tended to rely on knowledge of previous examples, whilst simultaneously reiterating the meta-narrative that religion (specifically Islam) is somehow associated with terrorism. Even within the realm of

electronic games, where stories are generally fabricated rather than based on real-life events, examples of this meta-narrative can be found (for example, the Call of Duty Series). According to Power, these types of games express State ideologies and promote them as forces of good against known enemies (Power 2007:272). That is not to say that groups such as al-Qaeda do not have their version of similar games (one example released by the *Islamic Media Front* was "Quest for Bush", see Power 2007:283), but that popular games found in the US and UK tend to express a bias towards those State objectives.

The range of factual and fictional media sources that could contribute to the pupils' general knowledge about terrorism is vast, including television series (such as *24* or *Homeland*), films (such as *Four Lions* or *Zero Dark Thirty*) as well as a wide range of websites (such as www.youtube.com or other similar pages). These sources will become more apparent throughout the research process, but the fact that expressions of the politically-inspired meta-narrative of terrorism can be found within such diverse media outlets highlights the scope and magnitude of these influential interpretations of terrorism. An additional consideration concerns the psychological effect that the portrayal of terrorism (and violence) in the media could have on the readership because "media documentation of violence and brutality engenders feelings of fear even among individuals who have not been directly exposed to such violence and for whom it poses no immediate personal threat" (Slone 2000:508). Thus, the fear of terrorism, as experienced by the pupils via a variety of media sources, could be greater than the actual risk to their personal safety (see Grayson and Ipgrave 2014 for additional insights); which was something that I needed to remain aware of throughout the fieldwork.

3.4.2 Impact on the Representations of Religion

The retelling of terrorist attacks found within the UK media frequently incorporates descriptions of the perpetrators' religious affiliation. However, current examples typically use religious descriptors when the perpetrator is associated with an Islamic heritage, rather than other religions. For example, attacks associated with (or inspired by) al-Qaeda are frequently categorised as “Islamist”, whereas attacks in Northern Ireland are not defined “Catholic” or “Protestant”, but rather “Republican” or “Loyalist”, or by their organisation name such as the Real IRA (Miller and Sabir 2012). Perhaps this reflects discourses found in the political arena, feeding the propaganda machine and extending the power-knowledge formation of the State, but it is also part of the meta-narrative associated with terrorism discourses within the media arena.

These media representations of religion have implications for our general perceptions of religion, because the “media's treatment of religion can be seen as a kind of indicator of the broader role and status of religion on the contemporary scene” (Hoover 1998:12). Thus, when religion is portrayed in a negative manner and associated with extreme acts of aggression, it reflects a wider social sentiment about the role of religion in modern society. Furthermore, when religious terms are used to define an individual or an act, there is “an assumption about what religion is, whether expressed explicitly in a definition or implicitly as media-bias… [which] can have the effect of directing our inquiries away from the actual religiousness of those who constitute the living reality of a faith and towards abstract formulations whose claims to be representative of such faiths is open to question” (Arthur 1997:187). For Islam this is particularly problematic, because as a minority faith within the UK, some people may not have had much contact

with individuals from this religious heritage (or even know details about the religion), thus when religious terminology, such as *jihad*, is used in conjunction with terrorism, it is understandable why some may connect terrorist activities to the faith (even when such connections are incorrect).

Alsultany's interesting study on the media's portrayal of Muslims suggests that, in the US at least, different media outlets portray these individuals in a variety of ways: "the commercial media tends to represent Arab and Muslim identities as terrorist, victims and patriots, nonprofit advertising tends to represent Muslims as able to assimilate into US society by virtue of possessing compatible values, patriotic devotion or toning down visual difference… revealing the limits of diversity" (Alsultany 2012:161). This observation is interesting because it is possible that such ideas will resonate amongst the pupils due to US media sources (in particular films or television shows) being well-known within the UK. If such ideas are expressed, then the wider implications of social diversity and representations of Muslims could have affected the results.

3.4.3 Conclusion

Media outlets, from printed materials to new media sources, could be highly influential to the pupils' perceptions of terrorism because it is from here that we gather our general information and form opinions about the phenomenon. Although the specific examples known to the participants of this study will become more apparent during the research events, it is important to note the general power of the media discourses could have contributed to the pupils' perceptions of terrorism and helped form their understanding of the religious links to terrorism. Islam is a particularly noticeable religion connected to terrorism within the media, thus it is likely that pupils will be aware of this and

comment on it. However, as Alsultany's study demonstrated, their perceptions of Islam may not be completely negative (Alsutany 2012): they may be aware of how different media outlets try to portray Muslims in both negative and positive ways, which could lead to some interesting discussions into their perceptions of how or why terrorism is frequently connected to Islam.

3.5 The "Terrorist" Arena

Although the participants of this research project will probably be unaware of the discourses expressed by those categorised as "terrorists", the ideas and concepts found within terrorist literature or ethnographic research have affected the discourses found in other arenas, which will have had an impact on the pupils' perceptions of terrorism. Thus, for this section I will provide a brief overview of how terrorist voices can be both silent yet known and explore how these ideas may have affected the perceptions of such groups or individuals.

3.5.1 The Terrorist Voice

The publicity of terrorist activities and media coverage of such events means that the terrorist voice finds a route into society, albeit perhaps not as they intended (most groups try to express themselves via various media outlets before taking violent action). The "dubious glory of the criminal" (Foucault 1991:112) that accompanies the morbid spectacle of terrorist acts is evidently of interest to the general public, however, the presentation of terrorist ideas typically portrays them in a negative manner which has implications for the nature of, and consequential perceptions of, the terrorist messages found within the public sphere.

The range of sources available varies from the published materials by the terrorists (typically found on the Internet), to academic publications detailing terrorist speeches, ethnographic research with terrorist groups or (more frequently) secondary sources and government documents relaying the desired discourses of those authors. According to Dolnik, the range of information available tends to be "strongly politically manipulated by all sides… [resulting in] the common acceptance of various unsupported myths" (Dolnik 2013:2-3). He argued that this has created the need for direct fieldwork with terrorists that goes beyond government-led research, due to the political bias found therein, and beyond simply examining those materials directly published by terrorists, because these are designed to "trigger a 'soundbite' response" (Dolnik 2013:4). Although the practicalities of carrying out such fieldwork are fraught with difficulties, not least of all with regards to personal safety, Dolnik's work does highlight the current problems faced by those attempting to understand the 'terrorist'. The available knowledge on terrorists has been affected by the political rhetoric on both sides, and thus the voices of the terrorists has been manipulated, altered and influenced by, the desired outcome and power-knowledge dynamics of the authors relaying information (Foucault 2002:xii-xv).

During my previous studies of Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda, I found that the majority of available materials were noticeably influenced by the UK and USA State discourses (unpublished Masters theses, Quartermaine 2005 and 2006). Thus I moved away from studying background information to instead focussing on the rhetoric of Osama bin Laden, as translated by Lawrence (2005) and Hamud (2005). However, again this was problematic: the examples chosen were limited by the author's choice, as well as by the trustworthiness attributed to each document (some sources attributed to Osama bin

Laden were believed to have originated from other individuals). Thus, other sources were required to support the views expressed therein. There are also examples of writings by those who have left such groups, such as Hussein (2007), but such texts contain biased information due to the author's desired re-entry into mainstream society. Fieldwork conducted with al-Qaeda affiliated groups, such as that undertaken by Shahzad, could be considered the most useful because it provided additional insights into the group that went beyond the rhetoric of the State or the terrorist's publicity machine (Shahzad 2011). For example, Shahzad stated that "after meeting them I began to see the world of al-Qaeda from an entirely new perspective – that of unmeasured energy emerging purely on the strength of conviction and human ingenuity against the sophisticated might of advanced technology the United States (the world's sole surviving superpower) with 9/11" (Shahzad 2011:x-xi). Such fieldwork provides deeper insights into those who act in accordance with these views, which can give greater accuracy about the terrorists themselves, but they are still written by outsiders and thus the terrorist's voice is filtered by an author and his associated academic discourses.

3.5.2 Silencing Terrorist Discourses

The limitations and problems faced when exploring terrorist discourses could have semantic origins. Categorising an individual or group as "terrorists" and their activities as "terrorism" is frequently influenced by the (innocent) victim's interpretation of an event (for example, 9/11 or 7/7). However, those given this label are unlikely to describe themselves or their activities as such, perhaps preferring terms such as freedom or resistance fighters instead (Richardson 2006:19).

Despite these desired alternative descriptions, outsiders still impose the category of

terrorist onto such groups for a variety of reasons. According to Schmid, the label is context-specific: terms such as "freedom fighters" only exists in a war context, as set out by the international humanitarian law in the Hague Regulations and Geneva Conventions, whereas "terrorists have elevated practices which are excess of war to the level of routine tactics. They do not engage in combat, as soldiers do. They strike preferably the unarmed… [as] a deliberate strategy" (Schmid 1992:12). Therefore, the label of "terrorism" should be restricted to "peacetime equivalents of war crimes" (Schmid 1992:12), which would allow for those "good motives" (which Schmid defined as the fight for self-determination, freedom and democracy) to become decoupled from those activities that affected unarmed or neutral bystanders during peacetime (Schmid 1992:13). However, some scholars disagree with this sentiment, arguing that it is simply the activity that defines the terrorist: they are not "a freedom fighter… [or] a guerilla. A terrorist is a terrorist, no matter whether or not you like the goal s/he is trying to achieve" (Richardson 2006:28).

These discourses demonstrate how the term "terrorism" is an imposed category that exemplifies wider power-knowledge influences; using the "terrorist" label has the power to silence certain discourses. Once the category is used, it sets those individuals apart from the rest of society and applies a negative moral judgement to their actions, which restricts their ability to interact and inform others of their aims. Similarly, those who study, engage or sympathise with such groups, can become tarnished by their association to terrorism, resulting in a range of responses from simple wariness or concern to extensive counter-terrorism measures being exercised on the individual, resulting in more cautious approaches to, or the silencing of, such discourses. The strength of this silencing power should not be underestimated: as Zulaika stated, once

the label of “terrorist” has been applied, engagement with such individuals becomes restricted because it restores their humanity – something they were stripped of due to their violent behaviour (Zulaika 1995:220, also see Zulaika and Douglass 2008:32). Although this is a bold statement, it reflects the strength of this silencing power. It is akin to a form of social punishment – where opposition to certain actions or ideas has ensured that such individuals are disqualified from citizenship and “emerge… a wild fragment of nature” (Foucault 1991:101). However, as Foucault stated, “it is an unequal struggle: on one side are all the forces, all the power, all the rights … [on the other] the offender becomes the common enemy… a 'monster'” (Foucault 1991:90). That is not to say that individuals who do perform acts of terrorism deserve an equal stake in society, but rather that there is a power to using such labels that ensures their rhetoric is subjected to general revulsion within mainstream society, which we should remain aware of throughout any study associated with this phenomenon.

3.5.3 Conclusion

These sources provide valuable insights into the diversity of available knowledge on terrorist groups and demonstrate the problematic nature of trying to understand the terrorist perspective. The majority of sources, including fieldwork studies, are written by outsiders and are thus influenced by the author's interpretation of events or ideas. However, the materials published by insiders are generally considered untrustworthy, perhaps due to a concern over authorship or content, or because such sources are perceived part of their publicity machine. The terrorist voice has thus become restricted within the public domain, primarily due to the violent behaviour and beliefs associated with them, and the information available to the public may be of a very different nature to the actual narrative conveyed by these individuals.

However, the views of those categorised as 'terrorists' have influenced the other arenas because it is only from the primary sources that we can begin to understand why such actions were taken. Their rhetoric is filtered due to distrust or fear of engaging with their published materials, thus fieldwork and secondary sources are generally considered more reliable – and it is from these that the information about such groups, and their motives, are generally known to the public. Therefore, it is not necessarily the terrorist's voice that will be known to the pupils, but rather the filtered voice, as influenced and affected by the layers of power-knowledge, that may have influenced their perceptions.

3.6 The School Arena

The discourses explored within the previous arenas, in particular the State arena, have affected the range of knowledge disseminated by schools to their staff and pupils. The current overarching curriculum suggestions are influenced by these power-knowledge discourses and *guide* the expectations and topics taught in schools. However, they do not explicitly describe how teachers should deliver such ideas in lesson: according to Cole, the chain of information goes through multiple layers, from government to local authorities and so on (Cole 2008), before finally being filtered to the classroom teacher who devises a lesson around the topic, taking into account the pedagogical considerations for a specific class (Shulman 1986). Therefore, in this arena I will explore a range of relevant literature, from education policies to pedagogical discourses, related to teaching about terrorism in schools, particular in Religious Education (RE), to ensure that a comprehensive understanding of the specific discourses relating to my thesis and the School arena can be achieved.

3.6.1 Influential UK State Discourses

As noted earlier (in Chapter 3.3), one of the most influential counter-terrorism policy documents that has been used by both the previous and current governments is the Prevent Strategy (2008 and 2011b). Although elements of the policy have changed between governments, both documents agree that schools play "an important role" in counter-terrorism strategies (H.M. Government 2008:47 and H.M. Government 2011b:69). That is not to say that children are becoming "radicalised"[8] but rather that schools can help "young people to challenge extremism and the ideology of terrorism" (H.M. Government 2011b:64). Despite this document frequently using extremism and terrorism as synonyms (which brings into question what exactly is to be discussed by teachers; see Richards 2010 for additional insights into these considerations), I have concluded that for the purposes of this section, I will temporarily ignore these definitional concerns and instead suggest that these words are used to highlight policy concerns about the ideologies that could promote, or lead to, violence. Although some scholars have argued that education may not be the correct medium by which violence could be prevented, as "there is still much we do not understand about how or why violence occurs… or education's role in mitigating and preventing personal or political violence" (Nelles 2003:21), Prevent overlooks such concerns: it is not a question of *whether* such topics should be discussed, but rather an explicit expectation that they *will be*.

With this in mind, I hypothesise that one way to interpret the Prevent Strategy is to divide the points on policy implementation for schools into three categories: to

[8] One example of an event that has been categorised as radicalisation entering the school sphere is the "Trojan Horse" case, where a number of schools in Birmingham, UK, came under scrutiny due to a number of individuals being accused of trying to introduce an Islamist ideology into the schools. See Coughlin 2014.

safeguard children, to challenge those ideologies that are condemned by the State and to improve community cohesion. As Foucault suggested, dividing a concept into relevant sections is important in helping us to explore a topic in more depth (Foucault 2002:59); in this case it demonstrates the complex nature of what schools are expected to achieve. Schools are given autonomy in how they deliver policy requirements (H.M. Government 2010:12), but as I discovered during my fieldwork, schools are not necessarily aware of their responsibilities in relation to Prevent (DfE and Ipsos Mori 2010). Thus when the education element has been implemented, it has not been entirely successful because "there is clearly a disjuncture between the stated national aims of the Prevent educational activity and the reality of much of its content - much of it is positive and diversionary youth activity, but it is not Prevent activity in any meaningful sense" (H.M. Government 2010:59). More details of my interpretation of these three dimensions of policy implementation can be found in Quartermaine 2014b, but a brief summary has been provided herein for comprehension.

3.6.1a Safeguarding Children

The safeguarding of children is a powerful concept in education because the pupils' well-being, protection and safety are deemed essential when working with young people (H.M. Government 2013). In terms of the Prevent Strategy, schools are expected to challenge the violence associated with terrorism and approaching it "in the same way that they help to safeguard children from drugs, gang violence and alcohol" (H.M. Government 2011b:69). This suggests that subjects such as Personal Health and Social Education (PSHE)[9] or Citizenship could fulfil this role, since those comparable topics are generally covered therein.

[9] Please note that schools sometimes call this subject PSHE or incorporate additional ideas such as "economic" (PHSEE), "citizenship" (PHSCE) or "religious" (PHSRE), to demonstrate the scope of what is covered in their school.

During my research, I also encountered safeguarding approaches used by the Warwickshire Police Prevention Scheme. However, on examination of their approaches, I found some lack of clarity about the difference between Prevent and Pursue. As one publication circulated amongst Warwickshire schools demonstrated, citizens are expected to "remain aware of what is happening around you and if you see anything suspicious to report it" (Warwickshire Police 2012:43), which suggests that pupils should be actively involved in counter-terrorism activities. Although it could be argued that concerned citizens should be provided with the necessary information for reporting potential crimes, I think that this sentiment goes beyond the remit of personal safety (and preventing terrorism) and requests personal involvement in the pursuit of terrorism, which raises some serious ethical issues about this approach to safeguarding children from terrorism. As Awan pointed out, "[schools] should not act as government institutions that involve teachers [or students] in monitoring their students for signs of extremism" (Awan 2012:1173).

3.6.1b Challenging Terrorist Ideologies

With respect to challenging terrorist ideologies, schools are told not to simply use the example of al-Qaeda, but that "it is vital to understand how, historically, terrorism has drawn recruits from all parts of societies and from many faith groups" (H.M. Government 2011b:26), therefore subjects such as Religious Education (RE) and History could also be used to help pupils explore the historical and faith dimensions of terrorism. The DCFS and DfES have both produced materials suggesting possible avenues for teachers in this regard: either by tackling the grievances of extremists or by helping pupils appreciate social diversity (DCFS 2008 and DfES 2008). However, the

terminology used in these documents could feed into the State power-knowledge discourses concerning condemned groups or individuals, thus pupils may not be able to explore the topic in depth if a bias towards government views is given preferential treatment. Examining comparable topics such as war and conflict, racism and the holocaust (see Hess 2002, Claire and Holden 2007 and Versfeld 2005) can provide some insights into possible pedagogical approaches. For example, anti-racism teaching is similarly considered a sensitive topic and any pupils who hold racist views are often challenged and their views ultimately condemned (see Gilborn 2006:13 for more details). Furthermore, anti-racism has been linked to post-9/11 rhetoric concerning the resurgence of racist nationalism (Rizvi 2003), which could be used in discussions challenging certain types of terrorist ideology. Local authorities and non-government agencies have also produced materials aimed at helping teachers deal with controversial issues. For example the Warwickshire SACRE guide provides practical guidelines and pedagogical suggestions for dealing with topics in RE such as life and death, or visiting a place of worship (Warwickshire SACRE 2010). Work conducted with young people by Safe Spaces (2011), the RE-silience program (RE focus, see Miller 2013b) and "Not in my Name" (drama focus, see Bartlett 2011), also provide suggestions and avenues for teachers to take when challenging terrorist ideologies.

However, the nature of challenging an ideology can be negative and even counter-productive. As the literature regarding anti-racism education demonstrated, condemning racist ideas may simply make pupils less likely to discuss their views in public, rather than actually change their perceptions, which is problematic because it reduces the possibility for peaceful community relations (Bryan 2012). Discussions that challenge terrorist ideologies may similarly make pupils aware that their views are perceived as

wrong by others, but they may still maintain these views regardless of what they are told. Although it could be argued that there may be certain circumstances where such discussions are necessary with young people who are considered "at risk" (see DCSF 2008:33),[10] I doubt that the vast majority of pupils hold terrorist ideologies and thus they may feel that such discussions are unsuitable for them.

3.6.1c Improving Community Cohesion

The Prevent Strategy suggests that "a stronger sense of 'belonging' and citizenship makes communities more resilient to terrorist ideology" (H.M. Government 2011b:27), therefore community cohesion could be considered another avenue for policy implementation. As discussed earlier (Chapter 3.3), funding for community cohesion programmes had previously been incorporated into the scope of Prevent (H.M. Government 2011b:28-29), but this funding has since been reduced.

The focus on the incorporation of community cohesion into counter-terrorism strategies can be linked to a global narrative. Many international studies on terrorism and education generally highlight the connection between them, concluding that such education is crucial to global counter-terrorism and international or national security issues (Hayes and Sands 1997:827 and Nelles 2003). The example of Northern Ireland (N.I.) is particularly interesting because the focus there was on peace-building rather than explaining the acts and motivations of terrorists (Cannon 2003:133). However, the multi-cultural dynamic of England can be quite different to that found in N.I., particularly in Warwickshire where some areas have larger physical distances between different religious or ethnic communities (see Warwickshire Observatory documents 2009). Furthermore, current concerns in Britain have generally focussed on more global

[10] Although I would question the nature and implications of defining a child as one who "at risk".

forms of terrorism, so the approaches used in Northern Ireland may not be appropriate for the rest of the UK.

Certain scholars and commentators consider community cohesion projects essential to overcoming the causes of terrorism (see DfE and Ipsos Mori 2010 and Maddern 2013) because they believe that through greater tolerance and understanding, the ideology of terrorism (in particular Islamic forms) can be reduced and thus help prevent attacks (Husband and Alam 2011). However, it could be argued that this only adheres to the definition of terrorists as individuals who go against the State and it does not allow for reflection on State forms of terrorism, or indeed the role that the State could play in creating terrorist ideology or behaviour (see Westra 2012 and Duncan *et.al.* 2013). Furthermore, some recent examples (such as Anders Breivik or the Woolwich case) have demonstrated that counter-terrorism strategies may also need to take into account why some individuals perform terrorist acts, rather than the specific political or ideological aims they attributed to their actions in order to be effective (Vasilenko 2004). Issues such as mental health, personal history and violent beliefs have become semi-separated from the ideology of a group, such as al-Qaeda, and can be attributed to the actions of the "lone wolf" (Spaaij 2012), which cannot be adequately responded to through community cohesion education.

3.6.2 A Note on the role of Pedagogy and Teaching Resources

The discourses found within the school arena are not only shaped by government policies, but also by the pedagogical approaches employed by teaching staff: the standards they expect in the classroom and how they adjust their lesson plans for specific groups or pupils (Every Child Matters 2003). This is important because the data

gathered on pupils' *perceptions* of terrorism was influenced by sources both internal and external to their school (including the education system, media and so on), but their *language* will probably reflect the expected norms and linguistical parameters of their surrounding environment (Foucault 2002:114). Furthermore, the explicit and implicit rules in schools dictate acceptable forms of behaviour and discourse, and pupils are restricted, yet guided by these expectations, which in turn affected the results (as I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 4. Also see Hartas 2010).

There is an extensive body of literature that outlines good pedagogical practice (such as Ayers *et. al.* 2000, Leach *et. al.* 2008, and Brooks *et. al.* 2004), and many of the ideas therein may have affected the pupils involved in this research, or be employed when discussing terrorism with pupils. More specific insights can be gained from the American context, such as Gereluk's (2012) work on teaching about terrorism and extremism in Citizenship Education, or other resources including: the 9/11 Education Programme (see www.911educationprogramme.co.uk); textbooks, such as Wilkes (2010); and non-fiction books on terrorism intended for young people, that can be found in some school libraries (or that are available to teachers). However, some of these non-fiction books (that could be accessed by some pupils) are confusing, biased or even incorrect. For example, one book by Donohoe (2007), that was intended for use in the UK PHSE curriculum, stated that it "is difficult to know what a typical terrorist looks like" (Donohoe 2007:21), with a photo of Osama bin Laden directly below. Most other examples found were not quite as controversial (although still contain some questionable aspects) and include those by Woolf (2005), Anderson (2008), Firth (2008 and 2012) and Jamieson (2008).

3.6.3 The Role of Religious Education (RE)

Since my educational and teaching background lies within RE and there is currently high academic and public interest in the relationship between religion and terrorism, I am particularly interested in how this topic relates to this academic subject. Although some have argued that discussions on terrorism and extremism should not be incorporated into RE because it risks "subjecting religion to political purpose and security interest" (Gearon 2013:143), I would argue that we cannot escape the discussions about terrorism and religion because they are already happening within RE classrooms. Furthermore, as the *Toledo Guiding Principles on Teaching about Religious and Beliefs in Public Schools* stated, "there is a religious aspect to many of the problems that contemporary society faces, such as intolerant fundamentalist movements and terrorist acts" (OSCE 2007:87). Following this OSCE logic, RE should play a role in such discussions, because the subject focuses on the religious aspects of life. Ofsted concurs that pupils "need to grasp how powerful religion is in people's lives… [and] explore areas of controversy in the world of religion" (Ofsted 2007:41).

In recent years, the literature on the role of RE in discussions that challenge terrorist or extremist ideology, and the responsive role community cohesion education can play in such programmes, has significantly increased, with books by Grimmit (2010), Barnes (2012) and Miller *et.al.* (2013a) providing useful insights into the difficult issues surrounding these topics. Many of these texts do not differentiate between the two policy aims, arguing that community cohesion can help counter terrorist ideology by encouraging pupils "to flourish individually and within their communities as citizens in a pluralistic society" (OCA 2004:7-15). As I explored in the academic arena, scholars such as Ramadan (2004) concur that cohesion and integration can help counter some of

the causes of terrorism. However, greater differentiation between these topics may be required, because challenging an ideology can have negative overtones that are not necessarily answered through community cohesion education. If these two aims are not explicitly defined, they can become confused and result in teachers focussing on those specific communities which are claimed to contain the politically-condemned ideologies (particularly Islamic), rather than at the wider spectrum of issues relating to community cohesion.

The increased focus on the role of RE in these discussions is often attributed to 9/11, because the religious (Islamic) ideology associated with the perpetrators of those attacks alerted policymakers and scholars to the importance of teaching about religion (see Ofsted 2007:40), as a means of countering the ideology in itself, as well as informing young people about the more peaceful aspects of Islam, to challenge the potential stereotypes that might arise from associations made between Islam and terrorism (see Baumfield 2002, OBIHR 2011 and Farthing 2008). However, there are concerns about RE scholars using 9/11 as a rallying point to promote RE, because this could undermine the other positive work and aspects of RE teaching (Moulin 2012:169). RE has a lot to offer in terms of teaching a range of religious, ethical and philosophical issues, and if 9/11 (and its associated issues) is used to promote the subject, these other important facets of RE teaching could become overlooked.

On the other hand, the increased focus on this topic has had an impact in terms of expanding curriculum guidelines on teaching about controversial issues in RE, particularly terrorism and extremism. One resource is RE-silience (see www.re-silience.com), which provides teachers with additional support for dealing with the

possible issues that might arise from discussing these topics with pupils. However, the nature of this guidance has come under scrutiny because its funding originated with the Prevent Strategy, which led some to conclude that it could be biased in promoting UK State agendas on terrorism rather than promoting critical thinking about the topic (Gearon 2010:112).[11] These concerns exemplify the overall issues that RE teachers and scholars face in trying to broach the topics of terrorism, extremism and radicalisation with their pupils. There has become a growing need to justify the subject since recent political moves, such as the exclusion of RE from the English Baccalaureate,[12] have damaged the subject's reputation (see NATRE 2014), but teachers also want to maintain the basic premise of RE (and general) teaching practices: that it contributes to the "spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils" (DCSF 2010:4).

Furthermore, teaching about terrorism in RE brings to the fore those issues surrounding *how* this topic can be taught within an RE environment. For example, in the teaching about 9/11, Watson and Thompson argued that RE could be used to respond to terrorist ideologies by teaching the "correct interpretation of religion and scriptures" (Watson and Thompson 2007:15); not only to Muslim pupils but also to pupils from other backgrounds who may be unclear about how (or indeed why) Islam was associated with 9/11. However, I would argue that this approach suggests an "unequivocal" (DfES 2008:3) rejection of terrorist ideology, which may adhere to State agendas, but does not allow scope for critical discussion. I would also disagree with the premise that RE teachers can provide "correct" interpretation of scriptures, because different groups or denominations can have a range of interpretations, each of which is "correct" for that particular group (or even individual). As Miller noted, the Universal Declaration of

[11] Please note that thia funding claim is disputed.
[12] There were other factors that influenced this omission, such as Russell Group Universities deciding that it was not a facilitating subject, but these discourses go beyond the scope of this thesis.

Human Rights, Article 18, states that people should have the freedom of religion, meaning that "they can believe whatever they like: they may be wrong and what they believe may be irrational, even abhorrent, but that is their right" (Miller 2012:193), therefore, an alternative approach should perhaps be used. One method could be, as Miller suggests, through Human Rights education (Miller 2012), which again links to international counter-terrorism discourses (see UN 2006:IV). However, such approaches could be problematic because there is a disparity between the implementation of the Human Rights Act and current UK counter-terrorism measures (McGhee 2008:111).

Another method could be to use other existing RE pedagogies, such as Jackson's interpretative approach (Jackson 1997; see Miller 2013b for a more detailed overview) or other teaching methods, such as those explored by Marshall (2009), which included Philosophy for Children (P4C), thinking skill activities, visual stimulus and examining primary sources. However, these again could be problematic due to the violence associated with the topic: if terrorism is not taught with knowledge or clarity, it could be mishandled and perhaps lead some pupils to agree with the ideologies under scrutiny, which could breach the fundamental teaching requirement of safeguarding children. Therefore some teachers may prefer a simpler method: to inform pupils that terrorist views are considered incorrect or unrelated to religion. Their concerns about safeguarding children may lead to the "sanitisation" of RE teaching, but simultaneously ensure the subject's acceptability within their school (Miller 2010a).

Therefore, the key issues arising from this topic revolve around the role of the RE teacher, and the nature that RE teaching can take during discussions about terrorism. Miller stated that the RE teacher should not "defend, sanitise or homogenise religions. It

is our task to enable an informed understanding of and critical engagement with religions" (Miller 2010a:9). However, the perceptions of the issues surrounding terrorism, in particular its relationship to religion, make it a sensitive and challenging topic for RE teachers. Not only do they have to contend with those power-knowledge dynamics associated with political agendas, media representations and whole school or parental concerns, but also with attempting to deliver the topic in a manner that is both critical of the issues, yet respectful of the views held by the majority of religious followers. The violence associated with terrorism makes the ideology condemnable, but if pupils are not given scope for critical or academic discussion, teachers may take a linear approach that adheres to the expectations (and bias) of State discourses, rather than discussing the wider nuances of terrorism debates. On the other hand, if such discussions are allowed to take place, then questions arise about how such teaching can safeguard children from violence. Furthermore, additional concerns about prejudice (see www.insted.co.uk), and the expectation of promoting community cohesion, enhance an already difficult balancing act, making it understandable why some teachers may prefer to ignore the topic altogether. Indeed, the teachers involved in my research wanted to adhere to some notion of 'expected' social norms and yet simultaneously display the critical engagement expectations found in 'good' RE teaching (see Everington and Sikes 2001), thus such debates need to be researched further if RE teachers are to know how best to approach this difficult and sensitive topic.

3.6.4 Conclusion

As this section demonstrated, the impulse to incorporate terrorism (and the associated discourses of extremism and radicalisation) into English Secondary School Education is the result of influential political agendas, in particular the Prevent Strategy. However,

the lack of clarity over terminology has brought into question *what* exactly is being taught, as well as *how* schools are expected to discuss such difficult and controversial subject matter.

Setting aside semantic concerns, I hypothesised that those aspects of the Prevent Strategy that related to schools could be divided into three overlapping, but noticeably distinct categories: safeguarding children, challenging terrorist ideology and community cohesion. These divisions highlighted how the approaches found within specific curriculum subjects, such as RE, PHSE, Citizenship or History, could be considered relevant for the implementation of current government policy. For RE in particular, approaching these topics is challenging and demonstrates a tension between certain power-knowledge discourses. RE teachers are torn between adhering to political discourses, protecting children from violence, as well the dynamics of "good" RE teaching that encourages critical thinking. They are expected to teach about religions in a manner that demonstrates a non-judgemental approach (or other associated concepts such as *epoché* or phenomenology), that values everyone's opinion and sees everything from all perspectives: yet the values discussed must also be socially acceptable. With all these contending considerations, it is understandable why some teachers simply choose to ignore the topic. However, there are some pedagogical avenues that could be used, but more research needs to be conducted in this regard to ensure that teachers feel comfortable engaging with this topic.

3.7 Conclusion

This overview of the archaeology of knowledge discourses concerning terrorism has demonstrated the wide range of existing knowledge, or representations of knowledge,

that I consider important for this research project (Foucault 2002:35). The initial divisions or arenas aided the exploration of this knowledge, because they provided a systematic approach to the available data. These arenas also helped emphasise how the information outlined was affected by the three "problems" of knowledge formation (change, causality and subject or author's influence, Foucault 2002:xii-xv); particularly in the media arena, where knowledge formation is constantly changing in accordance with current events, on both a global and local level.

However, the ideas explored within each arena not only demonstrated the range of information available, but also the tension, or the power-knowledge dynamics (Foucault 1991:28), found within each arena, and between arenas. For example, the school arena is directly affected by the political arena in terms of policy ideas, but it also has its own dynamics, as highlighted by the pedagogical considerations required at the classroom level. This complex network of representations and comprehension (Foucault 2002:350) affected the perceptions of the research participants, as well as what they chose to divulge during the research process. Although it is difficult to know the exact nature of how the information outlined above has filtered into their perceptions, the sources and ideas explored herein demonstrated the possible avenues of discussion and the nature of the knowledge under discussion.

Where the arenas converged was of particular interest, because it is here that we can hope to find some of the main facets that express the archaeology of terrorism knowledge discourses. For example, one particularly noticeable feature found in every arena was how the definitions, categorisations and labels used are highly influential in how we comprehend the concept. The "victims" of terrorism generally impose the term

on those who have carried out (or have concurring beliefs with) certain acts of (extreme) violence. These acts are typically perceived as being against innocent individuals, who may be unaware that an attack will occur, perhaps because it is within a perceived time of peace (as opposed to war). These attacks typically intend to create publicity for a particular cause, although the actual terrorist ideology may not be received as the perpetrators intended.

The links made between religion and terrorism also demonstrated an important aspect of the current trend in the literature about terrorism, because such ideas were found in some form within every arena. From academic works by the terrorism experts Rapoport (2004) and Hoffman (2006), to the political rhetoric of legal (Carlile 2007) or policy documents (H.M. Government 2011a), as well as the media coverage, terrorist voices and even within the school arena, we found examples of this influential representation of terrorism knowledge. Such ideas affected the research participants' perceptions of terrorism, although it is only through the research process that we can begin to comprehend the nature and extent of young people's ideas.

Thus it is from these discourses that this thesis can continue: we now have an awareness of the complex nature of the known representations of knowledge, or rather the archaeology of our knowledge about terrorism, so the exploration into how these ideas may have affected or influenced the perceptions divulged by the research participants can begin. Foucault's theories on how power-knowledge dynamics affected the available knowledge explored within this chapter, but it also had an effect on *how* information was gathered, as well on the actual data collected throughout the research process, as I will now discuss.

Chapter 4

Methodology: The Power-Knowledge involved in the Research Process

4.1 Introduction: The Research Process

The primary research question for this thesis was how pupils perceive terrorism, which gave rise to associated questions concerning *how* to uncover perceptions and how we can discover another person's views on terrorism.

As discussed in Chapter 2, perceptions are known to us through the language used, because this is how we express our understanding of the visible manifestations of representable aspects of human knowledge, as well as the ordering of ideas that form part of our perceptions (Foucault 2002:xx). Language helps to explain and explore the information available, sometimes through the use of comparable categories and terminology, as well as by the examples and explanations of the object of study. As explored in Chapter 3, these elements of communication contribute to our understanding of the archaeology of knowledge discourses about terrorism, including the historical origins and political implications of categorising a group or activity as one of terrorism. However, throughout this overview of terrorism discourses, it became apparent that despite the necessity of language for communicating, the parameters of these discourses were also affected by what Foucault called "power-knowledge" (Foucault 1991:28).

Reflecting on the research process shed light on how these two facets of knowledge

could interact. Following Foucauldian thought, I would suggest that the relationship between language and power-knowledge should be considered symbiotic: it is through the language used that we gain insights into power-knowledge, yet power-knowledge limits and confines the language used to those discourses and ideas considered appropriate to the context. Therefore, the epistemological standpoint for this study was that both aspects of knowledge formation are influential to the participants' perceptions – not only in forming their perceptions, but also in the disclosure and understanding of their perceptions. However, to discover the scope and dynamics of their perceptions requires an appropriate method for collecting such information: one that not only takes into account the potential limitations of language, but also one that takes into account those known power-knowledge influences that could affect the participant's disclosed information.

Due to the complexity surrounding the relationship between language and power-knowledge, I decided to approach this chapter using those theoretical foundations that suited the nature and scope of information under investigation. Therefore, it begins with an exploration of the power-knowledge processes that affected the initial methodological choices, such as the academic backdrop of this study and the effect the researcher could have on the data. This will be followed by an examination of the practical elements of research, including the research design, sampling strategy and demonstrable adherences to ethical procedures. It will pay particular attention to the language used during the research, as well as during the presentation and examination of the data, because this affected the scope of the results gathered. Finally, the analytical framework will be explained so that the reader can understand how both elements of perception formation were examined first independently, and then symbiotically, as an

entire “network of comprehension” (Foucault 2002:330).

4.2 The Power-Knowledge of Methodology

The most noticeable power-knowledge dynamics that affected this research from the outset were the academic protocols associated with demonstrating those known expectations considered essential for such studies, in particular the ethical procedures and choice of methods.

Adherence to the standardised ethical practices of educational research meant that my methodological choices were affected by the restrictions placed on the research and researcher. Individual researchers are accountable to the university and confined by its regulations: the institution itself is accountable for the researcher's conduct to wider social powers or expectations associated with justifying research and ensuring the safety of all participants (see for example University of Warwick Ethical Guidelines). External bodies such as the Research Council UK (RCUK 2013) and the British Educational Research Association (BERA 2011) provide useful guidelines in this regard, such as gaining consent from gatekeepers and participants, and demonstrating confidentiality and anonymity (Robson 2002:71).

Therefore, the choice in research topic, the methodological decisions and the research design all had to demonstrate adherence to these initial parameters of acceptable fieldwork. Without them, the research could be deemed harmful to the researcher, university or participants and thus demonstrating adherence provides protection for all parties involved: something which is particularly important when the topic under investigation concerns controversial or sensitive issues that relate to a violent form of

social deviance (see de Laine 2000:51 and the findings from my previous work, Quartermaine 2010).

However, the choice of methods also formed part of the research power-dynamic because, as Patai explained, "the pre-occupation with method becomes an occasion for both a claim to and a display of power" (Patai 1994:71). Adherence to an accepted methodological framework is necessary for acceptance in the field and it is only through the use of a methodology that any data can be effectively gathered and considered valid, thus it has a significant effect on the results gathered.

These considerations contributed to the decision to conduct short-term case studies; as academics such as Cohen *et. al.* state, short-term studies are particularly useful in helping protect participants when sensitive issues are discussed (Cohen *et al.* 2007:213). Each participating school was therefore treated as a case study: the information gathered was initially considered unique to its context, but comparisons between the case studies later highlighted more general views held by the young people from the participating schools. This section will begin with an exploration of the chosen methodological framework used for this thesis, CSR, and I will then reflect on how I, as the researcher, affected the research design choices outlined in Chapter 4.3.

4.2.1 Case Study Research (CSR)

The theoretical foundations, as well the ethical and practical considerations associated with this study, influenced my choice to conduct exploratory short-term case studies that followed the framework of Yin (2009) and Woodside (2010). As Yin explained, this approach is preferable when the focus is on a contemporary or complex social

phenomenon (Yin 2009:4), but where the researcher has little control over context or actual behavioural events (Yin 2009:11). It also allows for multiple methods and sources to be used in conjunction with a societal theoretical basis that aims to explore the perceptions of a phenomenon (Yin 2009:37).

However, it could be argued that CSR restricted the scope and nature of the data collected. Furthermore, this choice ignored alternative methodological approaches, such as those associated with quantitative methods or Action Research, which perhaps limited the impact that this research could have in schools. However, this project was an exploratory study into the field, therefore it was necessary to choose an approach that could not only help in this investigation, but also one that adequately responded to those known ethical and practical implications associated with this sensitive area of research. Once an understanding of the issues associated with investigating perceptions of terrorism have been uncovered, future research could be conducted using similar methods or the alternative approaches suggested.

The exploratory nature of my research arose from to the lack of available information on the topic. Previous studies (such as the UK Youth Parliament 2008 and Quartermaine 2010) demonstrated that young people in the UK were interested in discussing terrorism, but I was unable to find any detailed studies into their perceptions. According to Woodside, case study research can help achieve a deeper understanding of this type of knowledge because multiple sources can be used to help uncover the participant's ideas (Woodside 2010:6). Furthermore, multi-method and multi-case studies are useful when long-term participation is impossible, because it provides more information on the perceptions under investigation (Woodside 2010:9). The increased volume of evidence

gathered by multiple case studies is often considered more compelling, thus increasing the robustness of the project (Herriott and Firestone 1983).

This approach has comparable theoretical sentiments to the Foucauldian ideas explored in Chapter 2. As Foucault suggested, language "is so complex a reality that we not only can, but should, approach it at different levels and with different methods" (Foucault 2002:xiii). Since language is crucial to discovering the perceptions of a phenomenon, its complexity should be acknowledged and reflected by the methods used to collect such data: something demonstrated by CSR. Indeed, using multiple methods can highlight different elements of perception, which is useful when there is limited information about a particular subject. Foucault also suggested studying individual aspects of perception, because each element is a sign or "a manifestation itself" (Foucault 2002:65), before comparing and contrasting the ideas to get a more complete picture of the total impression (Foucault 2002:59). Again, this theoretical idea is reflected by using multiple case studies: each case has its own nuances that needs to be acknowledged and recognised, but once these have been understood, some generalisations can be made about the information gathered, which in turn provides deeper insights into the perceptions of terrorism generally held by Warwickshire pupils.

However, CSR is a complex approach that can generate a large amount of data, therefore it is important to restrict the controllable parameters of the research before commencing fieldwork. For example, I conducted the research in a sample of schools from one UK county, Warwickshire, and requested a specific age group (13-15 year olds) from each school. Furthermore, the data selected for analysis was restricted to those interactions that particularly highlighted pupils' views of terrorism connected to

religion. Although the ethical considerations meant that the research design incorporated a broader spectrum of discussion points, this thesis specifically focusses on the data relevant to the research questions. However, the other findings were not completely ignored because they provided deeper insights into each case study and any excluded information can be used for alternative papers on specific topics associated with this research.

Furthermore, these controllable parameters are limited in scope: the nature of conducting research in schools is complicated by the actual behavioural events that occur in each case study – by the specific environment, date, time and group in question (see Miles and Huberman 1994:25-7). As Macfarlene noted, even the explicit code of conduct used during such studies has limited applicability because "real" research involves human interactions and views: situations may arise that do not easily cohere to the code a researcher is following, in which case personal judgement may be required (Macfarlene 2009:3). As I experienced during my teaching career, even sessions with the same group of pupils can differ: every individual will have specific daily experiences that affect their disposition and the group as a whole has its own dynamics, which can be affected (positively or negatively) by a classroom visitor. Therefore, when working with pupils, additional planning or even altering the plans during the course of the research events, may be considered necessary. According to Woodside, achieving accuracy in these circumstances "requires applying methods that account for contingency and complex antecedent conditions" (Woodside 2010:398). However, even with this additional planning in place, the exploratory nature of this research meant that the research design could not be completed at the outset and required some revisions after the initial stage of study (Yin 2009:62).

These considerations and possible alterations to the research design affected the validity and generalizability of the CSR methodology (Nisbet and Watt 1984). Yin suggested overcoming these concerns by using four validity tests throughout a research project: construct validity; internal validity; external validity; and reliability (Yin 2009:40).[13] By employing certain tactics at different phases (such as multiple sources, pattern-matching and developing replicable procedures), the research demonstrated adherence to these tests and provided validity to the overall project. Woodside called this the "recipe" of the research design (Woodside 2010:398): using similar approaches and replicable methods allows researchers to achieve some degree of control over the research events, which in turn allows for generalizability between case studies. For example, in this study each group did the same survey, similar classroom activities and the semi-structured group discussions incorporated the same basic questions (Health Walker 2012:2, Snape and Spencer 2003:7 and Hartas 2010). Furthermore, my experience as a teacher gave me the added benefit of knowing my typical teaching style and responses to pupil inquiry or behaviour, therefore there was an additional layer of similarity between each case study due to my involvement within it. My research notes for each case study also incorporated rich descriptions and continuous reflections on the participant/researcher roles and interactions (Hitchcock and Hughes 2001:317).

However, the fact that I had been a teacher prior to conducting the research also formed

[13] *Construct Validity:* the practical empirical and theoretical measures used to support my interpretations. For example, the relationship between the survey and group discussions used in this thesis.

Internal Validity: the estimated degree to which conclusions about causal relationships can be made,based on the measures used (such as word tables), the research setting and the research design.

External Validity: the extent to which the results of the study are validly generalizable in other studies. In this thesis, this could be the general process of knowledge formation and the discovered process of disclosure.

Reliability: the quality and repeatability of the research methods; for example the "recipe" used for each case study.

part of power-knowledge processes involved within my methodology and research design: it affected my decisions both before, and during, the fieldwork events. Therefore, I decided to reflect on how my teaching knowledge affected the research process, which in turn helped explain those practical approaches used during data collection.

4.2.2 Researcher-Teacher Dynamic

During the initial stages of research design, I carefully reflected on my role in the fieldwork events because the validity and generalizability of the research would be affected by my interactions and insights throughout the process (Figueroa 2000:100). I felt that my background as a teacher had given me a deeper appreciation of the general school system (knowledge that could be useful to the research process), but as a researcher, the expected practices associated with my current profession needed recognition and adherence.

I thus began by considering those factors that affected my position as an educational researcher. *Discipline and Punish* (1991) was useful here because Foucault suggested that the environment and context all contributed to the discourses and behavioural parameters of those involved in any interaction (in this case the researcher and participants). For example, the researcher necessarily responds to the school regulations and to the power held by the members of staff involved in the research process; dynamics that also guide and affect the participants' actions and discourses. The strength of these power-dynamics could also impact the scope of information relayed by either party, as well as the style of delivery. Thus my interactions with participants were affected by context and I had to be responsive to the requirements found in each case

study. As Hitchcock and Hughes noted, “schools are organisations which have a power structure. Knowledge is not equally distributed but is socially constructed” (Hitchcock and Hughes 2001:39). Recognising and acknowledging how the school system as a whole, and the internal dynamics of each school, impacted on the researcher, helped provide a deeper understanding of the research parameters and in recognising the challenges of generalizability between case studies.

However, the power-dynamics involved in education research can alter because there are moments when it becomes more of a dialogical process, “where participants negotiate meanings at the level of question posing, data collection and analysis” (Gitlin and Russell 1994:185). Since I (the author) was in the process of discovering new information, the research became a “mutual process” (Gitlin and Russell 1994:187) between the researcher and the researched because both parties were engaged in a previously unresearched field of study. Due to the exploratory nature of this research and the style of my research questions, I felt that these moments needed to be encouraged: I wanted to discover pupils' perceptions and engaging them with the knowledge they produced could provide deeper insights into their understanding of terrorism.

Another influential consideration was ensuring that I responded adequately to the sensitivities associated with the topic. To this end, I investigated alternative studies on discussing sensitive issues with pupils. For example, Symonds suggested that pupils should become more actively involved in the research and that the researcher’s role should demonstrate “both a professional and a ‘civic’ interest in facilitating positive, developmentally appropriate experiences for early adolescent participants… [thus] a

balance must be struck between allowing pupils autonomy and scaffolding their cognition" (Symonds 2008:71: also see Hatch 1995). Another study by Tsai, which involved discussing trauma during classroom-based research, involved interaction, discussion and written reflections in a classroom setting (Tsai 2010:120): an approach inspired by her teaching and researcher experience.

When reflecting on these considerations, I realised that certain teaching methods could similarly be used in my research, to scaffold moments where pupils could conduct autonomous exploration of the topic. For example, certain approaches, such as group work or classroom discussions, provided space and time for pupils' to discuss and reflect on their knowledge and thus could be used to encourage information discovery (particularly if the topic is one that may not have been previously discussed in school). As Hopkins stated, a teacher acts as "more advisor and guide than a director" (Hopkins 2011:171) during group work; thus such activities encourage pupils to discuss their ideas in a reflective manner that provide deeper insights into their perceptions. However, to ensure such interactions were productive, teaching skills could be required: some pupils may not have developed the social skills required for such discussions, thus there could be moments where I needed to encourage them to focus on the task.

When I speculated further on how to incorporate this approach into data collection events, I realised that my teaching knowledge and training could consciously and sub-consciously affect the entire research process. Even if I chose alternative methods, some of my teaching skills have become so engrained into my interactions with young people that any attempt to "bracket out" this knowledge would be impossible. Thus, for validity and reliability purposes, I concluded that the best approach would be to embrace and

incorporate my teaching knowledge into my research design. Although this was a complex idea that required a great deal of thought and planning, I believed that using my skills would ultimately be beneficial to the research process. The sensitive nature of the topic and the style of my research questions meant that the research design had to use methods that would encourage pupils to participate and express their views and I believed that my teaching knowledge could be used to benefit my research aims.

According to Hopkins, the problems with traditional educational research is that it is difficult to apply to classroom practice: the researcher brings in perspectives from academic discipline world-view that differ to the teacher's view (Hopkins 2011:40-41). Therefore, there has been an increase in research being conducted by "teacher-researchers". However, this approach follows the action research paradigm, where research is conducted over a longer time frame by a classroom teacher, with the aim of achieving change in schools (Townsend 2013). In my opinion, this type of research preferences the "teacher" role above the "researcher" because it is undertaken by a teacher using research methods and skills to scaffold the project. However, this did not suit my project: I intended to explore and discover perceptions of terrorism, rather than explicitly alter classroom or school approaches to terrorism. Therefore, a better categorisation for my role was the "researcher-teacher": I preferenced the "researcher" role, but was using my teaching knowledge, skills and methods to help my research design because such skills were considered useful in providing approaches to discussing sensitive issues with young people.

Hopkins suggested that the teaching skills useful for research include: not judging participants too quickly; having inter-personal skills; developing trust and

supportiveness; and having a design schedule that helps you gather the appropriate information (Hopkins 2011:77). He also suggested that the interactions to be reflected on could include: their presentation; the indirect and direct teaching; tone of voice; questioning strategy; how they provide feedback; the nature of their discussion about the subject matter and expectations; the classroom layout; and how they used differentiation (Hopkins 2011:87). Having chosen to conduct my research within the school environment, it seemed logical that these aspects of my interactions with pupils should be reflected upon as part of the research design.

My teaching experience also provided me with insights into how pupils interacted with visitors, albeit as an observer rather than instigator. I noticed that the pupils I taught felt most relaxed when visitors conducted a session on the pupils' terms (in a classroom) as opposed to an outside space (such as a place of worship): particularly when it was structured with lesson-style activities that they could relate to. Due to the sensitivities and ethical considerations associated with discussing terrorism with young people, I used this knowledge of visitor-pupil interactions to my advantage. Thus, my first session with pupils emulated the style of the “good” visitor that combined the typical components of a lesson with my research requirements. As I will discuss further in my research design (Chapter 4.3), this involved a clear research session conducted with a lesson plan, with specific activities and contingency planning, that could be replicable in every case study (which also fulfilled the requirements of good CSR). The main drawbacks of this teacher identity included those conscious and subconscious actions that could have restricted the pupils' willingness to openly discuss their views. Therefore, I triangulated the data collected by conducting a second session that followed the more typical research method of semi-structured group discussions.

4.3 The Practicalities of Conducting Research in Schools

This section will focus on those practical processes that affected the scope and nature of the research conducted. These include: the research design; the sampling strategy; gaining access to pupils; and the demonstrable adherence to the ethical procedures. These processes were influenced by the power-knowledge dynamics outlined above, such as the imposed ethical considerations and choice of accepted methodological practices, but they also helped limit the scope and style of the research collected and provided a practical route by which this research could commence.

4.3.1 Research Design

The research design was affected by the practicalities of conducting short-term research events in a small sample of schools in Warwickshire. It also had to include approaches that could help answer the research questions and incorporate flexible methods that could be responsive to the specific needs of those involved in each case study.

Using CSR helped in the adherence of these considerations because it allowed for some flexibility in the research design: the overall structure remained the same in every case study, but contingency planning and alternative approaches were incorporated to ensure that the research could be responsive to the specific requirements of each school. Overall, the research design adhered to the twelve principles of good CSR, as laid out by Woodside (2010:397). Of most interest were the suggestions to use unobtrusive evidence alongside the interviews and specific data collection, visual and verbal data, as well as multiple data sources.

My research design took the format of a reusable "recipe": namely, it included a series of practical activities that could be replicated in each case study, to ensure that there were similarities in the data sets. The overview of this "recipe" has been presented below. Afterwards I explain each activity in more detail, to ensure that the reader understands the procedures I followed during my fieldwork.

Table 4.1: Research "Recipe"

	Activity	Data type	Data Collection Method(s) Used
1	Collect school background information	Written materials	- Collect information from school website, local demographic documents and Ofsted reports
2	Initial meeting with gatekeepers	Verbal (not recorded)	- Informal semi-structured discussions about research proposal and fieldwork events - Researcher notes taken during and after meeting - Provide copies of the consent forms to staff, to be sent to pupils' parents or carers
3	Staff interviews	Verbal (recorded)	- Formal semi-structured interviews - Digital recorder used (when staff agreed) - Researcher notes taken during and after meeting
4	First fieldwork session with pupils	Written Visual Verbal	- Check staff have received consent forms - Lesson-style data collection event - Written starter, survey and plenary activities - Pictures by pupils - Group discussion work (not recorded) - Researcher notes taken after session
5	Second fieldwork session with pupils	Written Verbal (recorded)	- Semi-structured group discussion with 4-8 volunteer pupils from first session - Group work written activities - Group discussion activities (recorded) - Researcher notes taken during and after session - Transcript completed and coded with active / passive participants and so on (Stake 1995:29)
6	Follow-up session with staff	Verbal	- Informal discussion on fieldwork events - Researcher notes taken after discussion
7	Report back to school	Written materials	- Written report on research events and results - Request for feedback from staff
8	Review of case study	Written notes	- Researcher review of data collected and research activities conducted within that specific setting
9	Reflections on all research	Written notes	- Researcher review of how the data collected compares and contrasts to the previous studies

Activity 1

According to Stake, in CSR "there is no particular moment when data gathering begins" (Stake 1995:49), because every interaction or piece of information gathered contributes to the overall understanding of the case study in question. Therefore, this research activity incorporated a wide range of initial data sources collected about the area and schools.

I initially gathered demographic information, including general school statistics, for the whole of Warwickshire. This was essential in guiding the choice of schools to approach; I wanted a reasonable range of participants, but with some comparable elements to ensure greater generalizability between the case studies. Thus, the comprehensive schools contacted were large, mixed-sex schools, with pupils from relatively homogeneous ethnic and economic backgrounds. The two grammar schools had pupils who could potentially come from similar backgrounds to pupils in their comprehensive counterparts. I decided not to approach private schools because the differences therein may have been too great.

Once this data was collected, I approached a number of carefully selected schools. Not all schools responded, but for those that provisionally accepted my fieldwork request, I conducted additional research. This included gathering information from their website, local council data and Ofsted reports. Once I met with the relevant members of staff, I was provided with further details of the school, such as the rules, class settings, timetabling and curriculum. Staff in other departments and the school library were also contacted, to gather additional insights into the other possible sources of information

that could have contributed to the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

Throughout the research process, I continued to investigate other sources that could contribute to my research topic or to the background information about each case study. For example, I informally interviewed the Warwickshire Police Prevent team leader, which was particularly useful for CS3 because she had visited the same school, albeit in a different capacity.

Activities 2 and 3

The ethical requirements and additional background information were the most influential factors in my decision to incorporate teacher perspectives into this research design. Since I had limited access to pupils, these sessions provided me with more detailed information about the school and participants: information that I would not have been privy to had I not talked to teachers. Their knowledge of the school and the pupils was invaluable in comprehending how the pupils' perceptions of terrorism could be affected by their environment (see research questions, Chapter 1).

To ensure validity and triangulation of the data gathered, two meetings with teachers were organised: the first involved informal discussions with key staff members (departmental and senior management) and the second were recorded interviews with the same member of staff (where possible). Due to the power-dynamics within school environments, any additional staff member(s) who wanted to be involved in the research process were also interviewed. Not all staff members contacted agreed to the second interview, and some who agreed did not want the session to be recorded.

Activity 1 guided my choice of questions asked in every case study, but the semi-structured nature of the interviews meant that alternative follow-up questions could be asked if further information was required about that specific school (see Appendix 2). I also used these opportunities to discuss any concerns staff had about the topic or the fieldwork and their responses provided more detailed information about the participants.

The second interview was useful because teachers were encouraged to reflect on the possible sources of information that may have influenced the pupils' perceptions of terrorism. For example, I asked whether terrorism had been previously discussed in class with pupils. On a practical note, these one-to-one interviews were time-consuming, but they became increasingly useful in comprehending some of the pupil data and contributed greatly to my final reflections.

Activity 4

The fieldwork with pupils was conducted over two sessions: the first was in a classroom setting and the second was a week or two later in a different location with a small group of volunteers. The sessions were designed to take into account a number of factors: the environment; the group involved; and the research questions. The first session incorporated some of my teaching knowledge and skills and was designed in the format of a lesson plan (see Appendix 3).

According to Kyriacou (2007), lesson planning should generally include a learning sequence, flexibility, a range of strategies and building on knowledge (something that was addressed in activity 5). The most common lesson sequence involves a starter, main body of activities and a plenary (Brooks et. al. 2012), which was the approach used in

my research design.

In my teaching experience, pupils tended not to arrive at a classroom at the same time, thus I decided to design a starter activity that could be undertaken whilst waiting for the pupils' arrival. Furthermore, since I had requested that only pupils with completed parental consent forms were present in the classroom, the initial practicalities associated with this ethical constraint meant that an activity was required to engage those pupils who had been granted entry to the classroom.

The pupils were asked to conduct the starter activity individually and in silence, which helped them focus on the topic (see Appendix 4**)**. The starter was designed to suit all abilities (Greig et.al. 2007:92) and included a word association and drawing exercises. This activity gave pupils the opportunity to reflect on their initial thoughts about terrorism, which I thought would help them make an informed decision about taking part in the research.

Once the majority of pupils had completed the starter activity, I informed the pupils about the research and highlighted that they could withdraw at any time. They were then asked to consider the differences between a test and taking part in research, during which I emphasised the importance of making an informed decision about involvement. This discussion also involved questions about whether the starter activity could form part of the research data, because it had been undertaken without pupils being explicitly informed about the research. The pupils were encouraged to consider whether they wanted their starter responses to be incorporated into the data collected and told that they could either pass me their responses or dispose of them.

Following this ethical discussion, those pupils who agreed to take part were asked to complete a survey independently and in silence. This method was chosen because it provided a standardised aspect to every case study and also gave me deeper insights into the perceptions individual pupils had about terrorism. The questions were designed to provide further information into the general knowledge pupils had on terrorism, that they may have "acquired from books, television, talking to parents and friends, visits to places of interest, previous work in school and so on" (Bennett and Dunne 1992:2).

The survey design was loosely based on a similar one conducted during my previous research with older pupils (Quartermaine 2010). Since I wanted to incorporate the findings from my first case study into my analysis, using my prior knowledge of this research method was deemed appropriate for the survey design. However, the language and questions were simplified to suit the younger audience, and a few closed questions were asked on those topics that the older pupils had struggled with (see Weinburg *et. al.* 2004). My previous research experience had also demonstrated that questions about terrorism need to be phrased carefully, so the survey was designed to be as clear and simple as possible, with attempted neutrality throughout. For this research project, the survey responses from the first case study did highlight the need for some simple changes, such as the omission of a question and more detailed clarification on others, but the pupils generally responded well, thus the majority of the survey remained the same throughout all cases.

The survey (see Appendix 4) began by asking for some basic information, such as age and gender, to aid categorisation. This was followed by some simple questions about

whether terrorism had been discussed in school and whether the pupils would like to discuss the topic. Q4, Q5 and Q6 focussed on where they thought terrorism happens, their perceptions of the current threat level in the UK / local area and whether they were worried about it happening where they lived. These questions were incorporated so that I could better understand how "close" they felt to terrorist activities and whether their location had affected their perceptions of terrorism. Q7 – Q10 asked whether they had heard about terrorism from other sources, such as the media or friends and family. I then posed some knowledge-based questions, such as "name some terrorist groups or individuals" and some "terrorist activities". Q13 was one of the key questions on what pupils thought motivated terrorism. However, in my previous fieldwork, the older pupils had found this particularly difficult and wanted examples. Therefore, for this survey, I designed a hierarchical-scale question based on Schmid's definition of terrorism (1992), which suggested that the motivations of terrorists included: anger or hatred, money, politics, racism or prejudice and religious ideas. This was followed by an open-ended question where pupils could add any other motivations. Finally, the pupils were given space to provide additional comments.

Once the survey was completed, pupils moved into groups to discuss their views. The majority of teachers believed that pupils had limited knowledge of the topic, thus group discussions were useful in discovering their perceptions because the collective knowledge "available in a group is likely to be larger than that available to individual pupils" (Muijis and Reynolds 2011:65). Each group was given a blank sheet of paper with the word "terrorism" in the centre and was asked to write down any discussion points. Group work can appeal to wide variety of abilities (Bennett and Dunne 1992:57) because it "harnesses the synergy of collective action" (Hopkins 2011:171): each pupil

could contribute because new information was being formed through the discussion. Furthermore, this activity was useful on a practical level because it could be shortened or lengthened to suit the lesson timings (although a contingency plan was drawn up if pupils struggled with this activity, see Appendix 7).

However, group work does require some direction from the instigator, particularly if it was an activity not typically conducted in lessons. These interactions include: raising awareness of the task's objectives; monitoring the task through observation but maintaining limited involvement in the creation of ideas; encouraging involvement by all group members; and finally directing feedback on completion (Hopkins 2011). When observing the groups, I focussed on the pupils' inter-relationships and their relationship with me as the researcher, because their interactions could affect or even distort responses (Lewis 1992:417). Although it was difficult to change or adjust these dynamics at the time, this information contributed to my reflections on the case study (activity 8) and helped inform me of better practice for the following case study (activity 9).

The final activity was a reflective plenary: pupils were asked to individually write down their reflections on the research topic, whether they had any additional questions about terrorism and to provide any general feedback (see Appendix 4). At the end, I informed them about the next research session and thanked them for their participation.

Activity 5

The second session was conducted with 4-8 volunteers from the previous session and loosely followed the basic lesson structure, with a starter, main activity and plenary (see

Appendix 5). However, the main body of this session adhered to a more traditional research approach of semi-structured focus groups, so that the language and interactions between pupils could be more closely analysed than in the previous session. This method was also useful for triangulating the data gathered and for providing deeper insights into how pupils' perceptions of terrorism are formed (Foucault 2002:114 and Cohen *et. al.* 2007). The semi-structured approach allowed me to interact directly with respondents, helping to clarify responses and ask follow-up questions (Eder and Fingerson 2003), either from the previous research event or during the discussion.

I began by informing the pupils that the session would be recorded and that they could withdraw at any time. This was followed by a simple starter activity designed to remind the participants of what had previously been discussed. They were given a selection of words used by pupils in the starter activity from the previous session, as well as two blank squares for any words they wanted to add, and asked them to order them according to strength of association to the word "terrorism" (see Appendix 6). This activity was inspired by Foucault's suggestion that "the similitudes and signatures" (Foucault 2002:35) of an idea can help explain the perceptions held by an individual: thus incorporating the most frequently used words into the activity acted as a reminder of those ideas that may have been previously discussed and their ordering demonstrated the strength of the word's perceived association to terrorism. The starter was conducted in pairs because I was concerned that the change in environment and the removal of the teacher could be intimidating to some pupils. Furthermore, the dominant methodology chosen for this session meant that discussion needed to be encouraged, and beginning with an activity that pupils had probably experienced in previous school settings would make it less alien to them.

Once the pupils had spoken between themselves, I asked for feedback and encouraged debate amongst the groups about their word choice and ordering. However, due to the social skills required for such interactions, I had a contingency set of questions for any groups who had difficulties with this style of discussion. Some of these questions were based on my findings from the previous session or on alternative topics, such as whether they had seen any recent news stories about terrorism that could have influenced their awareness of the topic. I also planned for those instances where pupils may have become too engaged in the discussion, to ensure that their interactions remained on topic. However, since the pupils had conducted a similar activity in the previous session, they had practised the skills required for such interactions and I hoped that this would reduce my interactions, questions and comments. I wanted to know about *their* perceptions, thus minimal involvement on my part was essential. I saw my role as an advisor to discussion: when necessary, I asked pupils to expand on their ideas or if the conversation moved away from the central theme, I encouraged pupils to return to topic. To ensure some level of generalizability, a number of similar questions were incorporated into every case study, but the ordering of these questions varied between case studies due to the free-flowing nature I was trying to achieve.

The plenary was a reflective activity, where pupils were asked to examine the responses they originally provided in the starter and they were asked to consider whether they would change anything. Each pair then fed their reflections back to the entire group, with time being given for questions from other pupils (or from myself). Finally, I thanked the pupils for their participation.

In those schools where multiple groups were involved, activities 4 and 5 were repeated for each group: the results were treated as separate examples within the specific context of the case study under investigation.

Activity 6

After each research event, I engaged in additional discussions with the relevant member of staff involved in the process. This was particularly important for activity 4 because the staff member had acted as an observer, thus could provide additional insights. However, the time for these discussions could be limited if the teacher had other commitments and in those instances I organised a suitable time for a short phone conversation.

Activity 7

Once the case study was completed and all data had been collated, coded and transcribed, a short written report was sent to the participating schools. The report was accompanied with a thank you letter and a feedback form for staff, so that they could respond to my findings and add any additional insights or questions, if they chose.

Activities 8 and 9

Reflections on the research process was conducted at all stages of data collection, but once a case study had been completed, I reflected on the overall information gathered. Of particular importance was whether the information answered my research questions and whether it was necessary to incorporate or adjust my questioning or methods for the next case study. Therefore, after each case study, I initially reflected on the specific research events and findings, including any possible power-knowledge dynamics

uncovered through the process, before conducting a second level of reflection on how the results compared to my previous findings. This information was useful in guiding the final analysis of the research.

Although the research process and methods remained the same for every case study, some of the information discovered from previous data collection events fed into the questions asked in the preceding activity(s). For example, the information collected about the school was used as a basis for some of the discussion topics raised with staff. Furthermore, as I gained experience in the field, my knowledge of the topic increased, as did my confidence within the school settings, thus my interactions with staff and pupils were affected by the previous case studies conducted. I considered this part of the natural process of gathering knowledge, thus my post-fieldwork reflections included notes on the specific case study conducted, as well as notes on how the information and research events compared to the previous data gathered. For this reason, I also chose to incorporate the results from my first study (typically called the pilot) into my overall analysis of the results: the most noticeable changes to my approach did occur after the first fieldwork event, but I felt that the exploratory nature of my research made this information valid and important to the main body of my research.

4.3.2 Sampling Strategy

To limit the scope of the research, I conducted my study within 6 schools in a small geographical area: Warwickshire. This county was chosen due to its centrality in the UK and its demographic (Warwickshire Observatory documents 2009 and Le Bras 2008). The participating schools were located relatively close to sizeable Islamic populations (in Birmingham and Coventry), but were themselves in predominantly white, middle-

class areas. This focus was deemed appropriate because noticeable physical differences can influence pupil perceptions' of the world (Castagno 2008 and Billig 1997) and any perceived differences between the communities may be more readily discussed within a less culturally diverse environment (Bryan 2012).

The schools were located in rural and town locations and included 4 mixed-sex comprehensive schools and 2 single-sex grammar schools, to ensure that a range of pupils had the opportunity to express their views. Due to the limited time available in schools, I decided that 6 schools would give me a good scope of information but not be too overwhelming in terms of data collection and practicalities of conducting in-school research.

The participating pupils were all aged 13-15, which was deemed the most appropriate for this study because (in my teaching experience) it is at this age that pupils have the analytical skills to discuss difficult topics, such as terrorism. Although it is difficult to anticipate the maturation rate or emotional status of a pupil because every child develops differently (Lindsey 2000:4), I chose a slightly older age group because I believed they were more likely to be able to discuss such a sensitive topic.

The school departments involved in my research were RE and PHSE because I considered these to be the most useful for my study. I initially considered only approaching RE departments, but I eventually chose to contact PHSE departments because I was concerned that using 'Religious Education' might consciously (or subconsciously) make the pupils (and teachers) associate such lessons with religion. Since I wanted to discover *if* pupils associated religion with terrorism, it was logical to

reduce the possibility of them making this assumption before the session had even begun. Furthermore, discussing terrorism with pupils in RE lessons may have exacerbated the risk of pupils feeling uncomfortable with the topic (due the sensitivities associated with discussing religious associations with terrorism) and requesting PHSE lessons helped reduce these concerns (Quartermaine 2010). However, some schools combine PHSE with RE and Citizenship teaching, and most participating teachers involved in the research taught both PHSE and RE, which increased the possibility of pupils assuming that the sessions were RE-orientated. However, these concerns were discussed with the teachers and the sessions were generally time-tabled for when PHSE was typically taught.

4.3.3 Access Restrictions

The scope of the data collected was affected by a number of considerations, in particular the power-knowledge dynamics found at the research locations during the research design and events. For example, power was expressed by the gatekeepers choice of times and dates, and indeed on the choice of group(s) involved in the research. Thus some flexibility was required in the sampling strategy because gatekeepers ultimately chose which group would take part.

To help gain access, the timetable for my fieldwork with staff and pupils was organised according to school availability: teachers wanted to ensure that their curriculum would not be affected by the research, and thus chose the times and dates for research events. In most schools, the participating pupils were in class-groups that generally had the highest number of returned consent forms, but timetabling or other practicalities also affected the teacher's choices. Therefore, although I requested mixed ability and mixed

gender groups (although the latter was not possible in the single-sex grammar schools), teachers were given some flexibility in their choice of participating groups, to ensure that fieldwork could take place.

4.3.4 Demonstrating Adherence to the Ethical Procedures

The ethical procedures associated with educational research are typically demonstrated through the implementation of certain practices that respond to the key considerations of: ensuring participant and researcher safety; gaining informed consent; ensuring confidentiality; and data handling methods. These practical considerations were designed prior to conducting the fieldwork, because the researcher needed to demonstrate how the dignity and safety of all those involved was to be maintained throughout the process, to gain approval for the fieldwork from the associated university (see Appendix 1). Since these choices affected the nature and scope of the data collected, some of these considerations have been expanded upon below.

4.3.4a Ensuring Participant and Researcher Safety

Participant and researcher safety was considered of paramount importance and measures were taken to ensure that all parties were not endangered by the work conducted. The specific safety measures taken for this project revolved around where the research events could take place, because in my previous fieldwork experience some gatekeepers stated that some locations and approaches may be considered too controversial when discussing such a sensitive topic with young people.

The choice to conduct research with young people in a school environment helped ensure that the participants (and researcher) were in a safe location (see Chapter 2.4 for

Foucault's theoretical insights into schools). They are places known to them and provide an additional layer of security, in the form of known expectations or rules and trained staff. Furthermore, the school gatekeepers (the teachers) are responsible for the protection of the young people in their care, thus they must agree with the ethical choices made by the researcher before any interactions can take place. By agreeing to participate, they concur with the university ethics board that the researcher has met the expected standards and that the research is appropriate for their pupils.

Due to the sensitive nature of the topic being discussed, the location of the research events within the schools was also considered: the first session was conducted within a classroom setting, with a teacher present, and the second took place in a relatively public space, such as a library or a nearby classroom (with the door left open). Although this meant that some pupils did not discuss the topic openly, gatekeepers requested that additional safety precautions were taken during the research events and this approach helped ensure that research could take place.

In addition to this, the gatekeepers informed parents or guardians about the research events, who in turn chose whether or not their child could take part: thus all parties involved in the well-being of the child were involved in the research process. As the child protection expert Masson stated, “children and young people are rarely free to decide entirely for themselves whether or not to participate in research” (Masson 2000:36): a sentiment that reflected the power dynamics involved in gaining access and the protocols that must be met before the commencement of fieldwork (see Chapter 5 for further insights).

4.3.4b Informed Consent

Gaining gatekeeper acceptance for the project was crucial because the pupils involved were under the age of consent, thus considered vulnerable. To make sure that the gatekeepers were adequately informed about the project, I organised multiple meetings to discuss the fieldwork and I designed the teacher interview questions in such a manner that the teachers could reflect on particular aspects of the research design in more detail and raise any concerns they may have about the research, prior to involving young people. Although these additional interviews could have led the teachers to prepare their pupils for the research events, I believed that they were essential in ensuring that the gatekeepers were fully aware of what would be involved during the fieldwork (Drever 2003). Furthermore, at the end of the interview I requested that the discussion not be disclosed to the pupils, emphasising how my research intended to discover their ideas. I found including the teachers in the research process was mutually beneficial because they gained a deeper insight into the research process and I gathered additional information about the pupils and school.

Letters and consent forms were also sent to the pupils' parents or guardians before the fieldwork took place. Once all those responsible for the children's well-being had been informed about the research, the pupils themselves were asked if they wanted to participate (Willow 1997:12). Some educationalists have expressed concern that pupils may feel compelled to participate rather than make an informed decision (Morrow 2005:158) because they may be influenced by the status of the interviewer and context (Mayall 2004:121 and Greig *et al.* 2007:92), thus I included an activity to ensure that pupils were adequately prepared for the research they were being asked to partake in

(BERA 1992:2): before participating in the survey, the pupils were asked to discuss the similarities and differences between tests and research participation. They were then made aware that the teachers had prepared alternative tasks (and, where possible, venues) for those pupils who chose not to be involved. Pupils were also reminded that they could withdraw from the research at any time (Gregory 2003).

4.3.4c Limits to Confidentiality

In general, participants expect, and are granted, anonymity when involved in research because they have provided information about their private thoughts on a topic (Gregory 2003:51). However, there are limitations to the level of confidentiality available because the UK legal requirements outlined by the Data Protection Act (DPA) state that confidentiality is not guaranteed at all costs: there is a balance between the rights of the individual and the interests of those who have legitimate reasons for using the data (DPA 1998). Situations may arise that require personal judgement (Macfarlene 2009:3) and since children are considered a vulnerable group, who can reveal information that may involve child protection concerns or other questionable (perhaps illegal) activities, the researcher may be required to break confidentiality to ensure the child's safety and well-being (Eardley 1996:73 and Robson 2002:71). Furthermore, due to the nature of the topic, there was a small possibility that the data may contain information that affected national security, in which case that data was exempt from the data protection principles (DPA section IV.28.1). However, if any such information was divulged, the pupils' identities would remain undisclosed unless staff members and/or the appropriate colleagues from my university department were also concerned by the information under discussion. In this way, I hoped to demonstrate respect for participant anonymity: any decision to break that confidentiality would be a joint decision by the researcher

and an appropriate staff member. Furthermore, all participants were made aware of this consideration and time was given for them to question these limitations before the research commenced.

4.3.4d Data Handling

To maintain participant confidentiality, the data was stored in a secure location and codes were assigned to each school, with each participant allocated their own number (e.g. *CS1:P01* is *Case Study 1: survey pupil 01*): the specific details of the schools were kept in a locked file on my home computer. All digital recordings were given the same school code for organisational purposes, but these files also require additional encryption codes, thus ensuring limited access. This system was used throughout the presentation of the data; additional descriptions (not names) of the schools and individuals were used for the purposes of analysis, but anonymity remained throughout the dissemination of the data (Oliver 2003:79).

4.4 Methodological Analysis

According to Yin, the preferential approach to case study research analysis "is to follow the theoretical propositions that led to your case study… [because] the propositions would have shaped your data collection plan and therefore would have given priorities to the relevant analytic strategies" (Yin 2009:130). To this end, I interpreted Foucault's theoretical approach as a basis for analysis, in particular the notion that comprehending knowledge requires an understanding of the symbols and representations, since each "element of a perception is a sign for it" (Foucault 2002:59). This is similar to Yin's suggestion that analysis incorporates the "examining, categorising, tabulating or otherwise recombining the evidence to address the initial propositions of a study" (Yin

2009:126). Thus, dividing the data into exploratory elements is an appropriate approach to comprehending the information gathered and to ensure that this was conducted systematically, the data was separated into divisible components and analysed accordingly.

The initial data divisions were based on the assumption that perceptions can be explored via the language used (the knowledge divulged) and the noticeable power-knowledge dynamics (the reasons why this knowledge was expressed) that affected the research process. However, the relationship between language and power-knowledge is complex: they influence and affect each other, both restricting and permitting certain expressions of knowledge. Therefore, my analysis had to acknowledge and reflect on these dynamics to ensure that a comprehensive overview of the data could be achieved.

My research design "recipe" highlighted a route to ensuring that the presentation and exploration of my findings reflected this Foucauldian-inspired approach. For example, activities 1 and 2 demonstrated some important generalizable considerations and initial analytical points about the power-knowledge effects on the data collected (see Chapter 5). Once these are discussed, an exploration of the key findings from the surveys and from each case is presented individually, using the language-based methodological approach explained in Chapter 4.4.1 (see Chapters 6 and 7). Then an overview of the comparable results from the data gathered could be achieved and explored through more detailed language and power-knowledge analyses of all the data gathered (see Chapters 8 and 9). This approach adheres to the cross-case synthesis approach, where each case study is treated as a separate study, but where the aggregating of findings incorporates a level of meta-analysis (Yin 2009:156).

4.4.1 Language and Picture Analysis

4.4.1a Pupil's Written and Verbal Data

The language analysis primarily focused on the written (survey and worksheets) and verbal (interviews and group discussions) data gathered from pupils. To ensure that the data could be methodically examined, a colour-coding system was used for the survey and worksheets, where pupils were divided according to gender (for easier categorisation), with additional colours for those pupils who had used certain words to describe terrorism in the starter activity (Simons 2009:121). All recorded verbal data was transcribed into a computer and a similar colour coding system was used to aid analysis. For the teacher interviews, additional codes were used to highlight those comments relating to pupil views or possible school influences, such as lessons or assemblies.

To answer the research questions, I used Foucault's suggestion that perceptions are expressed by specific words (Foucault 2002:91) and those unspoken habits of thought (Foucault 2002:297) seen in sentences and the spontaneous language used (Foucault 2002:158). Therefore the analysis began with a specific examination of the words associated with terrorism, followed by an investigation into the descriptive language used and the historical examples, or recollected ideas, divulged by the pupils.

I began by examining the range of words used during the starter activities from both session 1 and session 2 in each case study. From this, I chose certain words that I thought would help answer the research question: in particular, “religion”, although similar words such as “religious”, “beliefs” and so on, also required some consideration.

I then discovered the frequency by which pupils used “religion” during the starter activity, because the pupils had to write words they most associated with terrorism, therefore if they wrote “religion”, then they already perceived it as somehow associated with terrorism prior to any direct input from the researcher (although the teacher interviews highlighted some of the additional considerations that needed to be taken into account for each case study). I repeated this exercise for the survey responses, paying particular attention to Q13, where “religion” was included as a motivation for terrorism (see Murphy 2010 for a similar approach to conducting a linguistical analysis associated with lexical meaning).

However, discovering the frequency by which “religion” was used as a single word only demonstrated *how many* of the pupils perceived it as something associated with terrorism: to better understand the scope of these connections, it was also necessary to examine where “religion” was used in sentences during the group discussions. Examining the context provided greater understanding and verification of their perceptions and highlighted associated ideas that could be used as a basis for further analysis. Foucault hypothesised the use of a “table” (Foucault 2002:74) to discover the matrix of ideas connected to a phenomenon: a similar idea to Yin's cross-case synthesis technique of approaching data through the creation of word tables (Yin 2009:156). Yin suggested that it is the pattern found in such word tables, rather than numerical tallies, that allows for interpretations of this level of data analysis (Yin 2009:160). The transcripts were particularly useful because it was from these that the context could be found: any ideas associated with “religion” were placed into a word table for each case study, and were later used as a point of comparison with the other case studies (see Appendix 10 for an example word table).

To ensure that a robust assessment of the findings was achieved, alternative terms also needed to be examined as points of comparison, to see if "religion" was actually a core idea in the pupils' perceptions. Thus I went back to the findings from the starter activities and investigated what other terms were used, paying particular attention to any words or phrases that were comparable to those alternative motivations discovered during my literature review (and which formed the basis of Q13 in the survey). To ensure that a concise summary of the frequency data was presented, I combined certain words due to their proximity – for example, bomb and bombs were put together because one is simply the plural version of the same word; other words, such as "harm" and "hurt", were combined due to their similarity. However, some words were ignored because they were either too broad (e.g. "people") or only used once.

The same analytical process used for "religion" was then repeated for those words of interest for each case study (frequency counts and word tables) before the analytical data between the cases was compared: from this analysis, other ideas emerged, requiring additional frequency counts and word tables to ensure a thorough exploration of the perceived concepts associated with terrorism. Exploring these "rival" concepts (Yin 2009:160) was essential in ensuring that the research questions were answered and valid conclusions were reached.

After the analysis of these specific words, a secondary layer of analysis was conducted, to provide more insights into the symbols and representations of terrorism. I thus focussed on the details of the examples discussed, because they shed light on how pupils' perceived specific events or groups they associated with terrorism. As Foucault

stated, the examples associated with a word or phenomenon are subject to the randomness of human recall (Foucault 2002:309) and can highlight some of the social power-dynamics at play.

For the analysis of terrorism examples, I began with the same approach discussed above: I initially read through all the data for each case study to discover any commonality in pupil responses, then highlighted a number of noticeable examples (such as 9/11 or bombers) and began with a frequency count from the starter and survey data. Afterwards, I explored the transcript data and created word-tables based on the details provided. These tables were then compared to the previous word-tables within that case study, to see if, and how, the examples were associated with wider comprehension of ideas associated with terrorism. Again, once each case study was completed, this information was compared across all case studies, to highlight any wider social power-knowledge dynamics that may have influenced the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

4.4.1b Picture Analysis

Additional pupil information was available in the form of pictures drawn in the starter activity. As Spencer argued, “images as well as words are central to the circulation of cultural meaning: producing and reproducing and regulating social meanings and affirming individual and group identities” (Spencer 2011:240). Thus, they provided additional insights into the wider social influences uncovered during my analysis of the pupils’ written and verbal data sets.

However, my understanding of these images was interpretative because pictures “can be

understood from different viewpoints (the producers, the audience or the image itself)" (Spencer 2011:133). Their usefulness was in the contextual boundaries of the images, namely as a response to the word "terrorism", which in turn allowed them to "act as elements in a story or headline. So even though different audiences will interpret differently they are viewing a narrative which is already partial, necessarily restricted, bounded and mediated" (Spencer 2011:133). Therefore, the pictures were relevant to the context because they helped justify some of the interpretations reached about the data collected and they provided additional descriptions of the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

4.4.1c Teacher Data Analysis

The discussions and interviews with teachers were used to provide additional insights into the ideas expressed by pupils. I initially approached the data in a similar way to the pupil data: namely focussing on key words and creating word tables, which could be compared to the pupil data, to see if any causal links could be hypothesised within a case study. However, there were additional considerations required when analysing this data due to the power-knowledge dynamics associated with the teachers (see Chapter 5).

The secondary level of analysis focussed on the contextual references made to topics or ideas discussed within the school, which again contributed to an in-depth explanation of my findings. However, since the focus of this project was on *pupil* perceptions of terrorism, the teacher interviews were used to support my interpretations of the pupil data, rather than treated as a data set in their own right.

4.4.2 Power-Knowledge Analysis for CSR

To gain deeper insights into the pupils' perceptions, it was necessary to explore *why* certain ideas about terrorism were expressed. To aid in this exploration, I used the language analyses as snapshots of information and comprehended these results as integrated and integral to the participants' formation of knowledge about terrorism (Joger 2001:38). These snapshots were expressions of awareness that have been produced for, within and by, the participants: any divulged knowledge was consequently perceived as the outward expressions of those influential (and disseminated) ideas that highlighted deeper knowledge-formation struggles surrounding the topic of terrorism, in particular the links made between terrorism and religion.

Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1991) helped formulate the analytical path through these snapshots of knowledge: for Foucault, an analysis of knowledge cannot be achieved simply through specific examples in themselves but also by the power-knowledge processes at work (Foucault 1991:28). Thus, the knowledge exhibited in the results were considered expressions of power-knowledge and the individuals who expressed the ideas, the ideas in themselves, and the modalities of knowledge, were attributed to the activity of power.

To explore the effects of exercised power, Foucault suggested that it is through the "dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings… [that the] effects of domination are attributed" (Foucault 1991:26). I considered these knowable facets of the power-knowledge dynamic that could be used to produce a framework by which an analysis of the data can begin. For example, by focussing on a specific area of research, such as disclosed information about religious connections to terrorism, and applying

these facets to the results gathered on the pupil's language, behaviour and inhabited silences, it became possible to discover how the power-knowledge was expressed and exercised by (and on) the participants.

However, to ensure that a concise analysis of the data was presented, I restricted my analysis to those research areas that I considered important in the formation and presentation of this project. Although these choices in themselves were expressions of certain power-knowledge dynamics at play within my research, I hoped that the exploration of these topics, and their inclusion in this analysis, would help explain my conclusions.

4.4.2a Micro-Physics of Power in Schools

According to Foucault, meaning-making is linked to wider political, social, racial, economic, religious and cultural constructs from which it emerged (Foucault 2002): therefore the disclosure of knowledge should not be considered neutral, but rather part of a wider network of linguistical, social and cultural constructs (see Chapter 2). MacNaughton similarly suggested that the knowledge found in a school context needs to be understood in reference to those authoritative institutional dynamics that affect the acceptable parameters of discourse: the disclosed knowledge is confined by the "officially sanction[ed] truths… that governs what is held to be normal and desirable ways to think, act and feel" (MacNaughton 2005:32). By acknowledging and uncovering some of these invisible micro-physics of power found in schools, we can begin to better comprehend how the wider social influences and concepts affected the pupils' perceptions of terrorism. To help uncover these influences, I have primarily used the facets outlined in this chapter, and also loosely used Cole's overview of the power-

influences found in schools, where he suggested a range of social groups to consider when examining the results (see Cole 2008:107).

4.4.2b Silent and Silenced Discourse Analysis

In *The Order of Things* (2002), Foucault speculated that knowledge operates on both a conscious and unconscious level, beyond the individual subject, into a wider social domain and the depths of human memory (Foucault 2002:330). The essential foundations or "truths" of knowledge are not necessarily within man's conscious thought but they continue to function behind the scenes (Foucault 2002:330). These "unconscious" aspects of knowledge will typically remain unknown (due to their very nature), but I hypothesise that there are certain points within the data that could help shed light on the impact of those unconscious power-dynamics that affected the disclosure of knowledge: namely when discourses are silent or silenced during the research process.

By silence, I mean those occasions where the participant did not respond, whereas silenced moments occurred when the conversation deliberately changed, was halted or self-censored, thus suggesting that something else may have affected the direction of conversation. These moments form part of the "manoeuvres" (Foucault 1991:26) experienced during data collection. The work of Mazzei (2007) was useful in providing a framework for this analysis because she provided a detailed explanation of how the moments of silence can provide insights into the (un)conscious aspects of thought. For example, when the conversation moved onto a "sensitive" topic, questions may remain unanswered, sentences unfinished or there could be a noticeable strain on the flow of conversation. Although participants may simply have nothing to add, such moments

could also indicate that they are unsure of a suitable response or that the conversation has became uncomfortable and perhaps required altering: moments that warrant further investigation.

According to Mazzei, this investigation can be achieved through "a process of listening to ourselves listening in an effort to recognise/identify what has been heard and what has been missed or ignored" (Mazzei 2007:46). By "paying attention to the voice modulations of the speakers, as well as the pauses and sighs… the *process* of listening" (Mazzei 2007:80-81) could be explored. She suggested that there were "the multiple levels of meaning present in the conversations" (Mazzei 2007:81) that were highlighted by those purposeful silences, when things were omitted (intentionally or unintentionally), which could have alternative explanations to those explicitly expressed by the participants. She categorised these silences into: polite; privileged; veiled; intentional; and unintelligible silences (Mazzei 2007:84-87).

Highlighting where and what form these silences took provided some analytical insights into the framing and disclosure of certain types of information. However, each form of silencing also had its own power-dynamics. For example, "politeness" in British English can play a negative role in conversations: it includes hedging (for example, "I felt...", "perhaps..." and so on) and conventional indirectness, that requires an intimate knowledge of British English to understand the underlying implications of the information that has been conveyed (Stewart 2005:122-127). Stewart argued that a "healthy degree of paranoia" (Stewart 2005:128) can help one to comprehend the impact that this linguistical trait has on discourse: again demonstrating how the nuances of language form part of the unconscious comprehension of discourse (Foucault

2002:297). There was also an ethical dimension at play within the moments of "intentional" silence: for example, an expression of a personal problem may require a silencing of that discussion, or a deviation onto another topic (one such example was in Case Study 6).

I used Mazzei's approach of listening and re-listening to the data to gain a deeper insight into the (un)conscious perceptions of teachers and pupils. Once this was completed, I compared the findings between case studies to see if there were any correlations, to discover any generalisable unspoken wider social influences that may have affected the participants' perceptions of terrorism. As Billig noted, "just as conversations can jointly produce collective memories, so too they can accomplish denials and projections, as speakers combine to move talk away from tabooed topics, jointly protecting what cannot be uttered. In this way, the unsayable will be present, even if marked by its absence" (Billig 1997:151).

4.4.3 Analysing the "Network of Comprehension"

By dividing the data into two aspects for analysis, namely language and power-knowledge, a route through the data was achieved, allowing for a deeper understanding of my findings. However, these aspects of knowledge-formation fed into each other, making a complex "network of comprehension" (Foucault 1977:26). Therefore, although the divisions helped shed light on those aspects of perception under exploration, an attempt at combining the findings was required to ensure that an appreciation of the entire "network" is achieved.

To this end, the presentation of my results begins with an overview of the initial power-

knowledge dynamics that affected the scope of the data such as the demographical data and access restrictions. This will be followed by a brief overview of the language results from the survey data and from the individual case studies. The case studies in themselves have been ordered according to initial pupil-interactions, as opposed to teacher-interviews, due to the pupils' being the primary focus of this research. After each case study has been explored individually, I will use the findings from the emerging cross-case study results to provide a final overview of all the linguistical data (Chapter 8). This data will then be used to highlight some of the noticeable power-knowledge dynamics found across all case-studies (Chapter 9). I will then make some conclusions about all the findings, demonstrating how the interactions between these two facets in the complex “network of comprehension” can inform our knowledge about pupils' perceptions of terrorism (Chapter 10), before reflecting on the entire research process from a Foucauldian-inspired perspective (Chapter 11).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter began by explaining my approach to discovering pupils' perceptions of terrorism, using the Foucauldian-inspired supposition that language and power-knowledge dynamics form the basis for exploration and comprehension. The relationship between these facets of perception is complex: language and discourse provide insights into power-knowledge, yet power-knowledge limits and confines the language used to those ideas considered appropriate to the context. Therefore, both aspects of knowledge formation were considered influential in forming perceptions, as well as in the disclosure and understanding of these perceptions.

The theoretical foundations, ethical considerations and practicalities associated with

conducting research in schools were carefully considered to ensure that the research design and methodological analysis adequately accounted for this complexity and responded appropriately to the research questions. To this end, CSR was used because it allowed for a series of exploratory short-term case studies to be conducted in schools around Warwickshire. It also allowed the data from each case study to go beyond the information collected during specific fieldwork events, such as demographic details or the school's administrative procedures, including rules and policies.

However, this approach was complex because it encouraged the use of multiple sources and methods, thus creating a large amount of data. Furthermore, each case study had additional variables, such as timetabling or class settings and so on, which affected the scope and range of information gathered in each case. The results were also dependant on teacher interest and participation, pupil ability and general school dynamics; and I needed to remain aware of how other unknown influences, such as personal problems or social concerns, may have affected pupil or teacher responses. Therefore, the research design “recipe” was devised and incorporated multiple methods to reflect the diversity of knowledge available (Foucault 2002:xiii). Using my teaching knowledge within the research process gave me additional insights into how this “recipe” could be replicated in every case study, thus allowing for some similarities between the data collection events. Once the data had been collected and analysed on a case-by-case basis, an overall comparative analysis of all the findings could be achieved through the methodological analysis.

The next chapter will begin with a preliminary evaluation of the key factors involved in the data collection events, because these affected the nature and scope of available data.

Then the results from each case study will be discussed, before moving onto an overview of all case studies, with a particular focus on those power-knowledge dynamics and key findings from the language analysis that helped answer the research questions.

Chapter 5

Background Information: The Research Context

5.1 Introduction

To understand the scope and nature of the pupils' responses during their interactions with the researcher, it was necessary to first explore the parameters within which information was divulged (Foucault 1991:28), because these restricted and limited the type of knowledge and information conveyed during the fieldwork events.

This chapter therefore begins with a brief overview of the important geographical and demographic information about Warwickshire, to contextualise the research. Due to the volume of information available, my research findings were used to aid the selection of the most appropriate data for this section: namely, the ethnic and religious affiliations. This will be followed by an overview of those findings gathered from the Police Prevent team because this provided additional insights into how State counter-terrorism mechanics directly (and indirectly) affected the results.

The following section will discuss the boundaries and limitations of my access into Warwickshire schools. As explained in Chapter 2, Foucault suggested that the divulgence of knowledge should be considered expressions of power-knowledge, thus it was within the preliminary interactions with schools that those initial restrictions that affected, and possibly formulated, the participants' perceptions and knowledge about terrorism, could be uncovered. This introduction to data collection focuses on the expressions of power-knowledge that have been recalled or exercised over (and by) the participants, which will help explain the nature of the overall data collected during the

research events.

5.2 Warwickshire: Location and Demographics

Warwickshire census data (2011) was used to provide an overview of the geography and demographics that affected the scope of the data collected. Although the specific case studies will give deeper insights into these considerations, there were some initial observations about the geographical location and demographics that affected the general external constraints placed on the fieldwork.

5.2.1 Geographical Location

Warwickshire is a non-metropolitan county that lies in the West Midlands region (Figure 5.1), at the heart of the UK (Figure 5.2). The boundaries of this county are peculiar, since Coventry, Solihull and Birmingham, became separated from Warwickshire in 1974 following a re-organisation of the local area into metropolitan and non-metropolitan county districts (due to The Local Government Act of 1972). This means that Warwickshire itself does not have any major cities, but there are a number of large towns, including Nuneaton and Rugby, as well as a few historically-important and prosperous areas such as Royal Leamington Spa, Stratford-upon-Avon and Warwick. The south of the county is largely rural and includes a small area of the Cotswolds, which was designated an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty in 1966. The county is made up of five districts: North Warwickshire, Nuneaton and Bedworth, Rugby, Stratford and Warwick (Figure 5.3). Each district has its own local council, which is responsible for providing services to the local area.

Figure 5.1: Map of West Midlands Region in England (above left)

Figure 5.2: Map of Warwickshire County in England (above right)

Figure 5.3: District map of Warwickshire (left)

The geography of Warwickshire demonstrates why it is such an interesting county: a number of major UK cities are extremely close, but were made distinct from the more rural (and generally more affluent) areas of the region for administrative purposes. Although it is difficult to hypothesise on the impact that these divisions of power-structure had on the residents' perceptions of their local communities, my experience of speaking to long-standing Warwickshire residents and local teachers demonstrated how

they made distinctions between their location and nearby cities; they frequently noted differences in the geographical make-up and demographics to demonstrate their comparatively privileged lifestyles.

5.2.2 Demographic Data

5.2.2a Birmingham, Coventry and Warwickshire

The most recent census data (2011) and other documents from the Office for National Statistics have been used to provide a brief overview of the comparative demographics of the West Midlands. The information available is extensive, thus I have focussed on those aspects that featured most prominently in the data: the ethnic and religious heritage of Warwickshire residents and the nearby cities of Birmingham and Coventry, to highlight some of the key comparative considerations.

The estimated population of the UK is 63.7 million: the 2011 census showed that the largest ethnic group in England and Wales was white (86% of the population – 80.5% categorised themselves as White British), with the largest minority ethnic groups including those from Indian, Pakistani, African and Caribbean origins. The most ethnically diverse regions are London and the West Midlands. The dominant religion is Christianity (59.3%), with Islam the second largest (4.8%), followed by Hinduism (1.5%) and Sikhism (0.8%); 25% declared themselves as having no religion (7.2% religion not stated) (Office for National Statistics 2012).

The tables below summarise the ethnic and religious demographic data from the West Midlands and highlights the regional data from Birmingham, Coventry and Warwickshire, to demonstrate the comparative differences between these geographical areas.

Table 5.1: Largest Regional Ethnic Groups

	West Midlands	Birmingham	Coventry	Warwickshire
White	79.2%	53.1%	66.6%	88.5%
Pakistani	4.1%	13.5%	3%	<1%
Indian	3.9%	6%	8.8%	3%

Table 5.2: Largest Regional Religious Groups

	West Midlands	Birmingham	Coventry	Warwickshire
Christianity	60.2%	46.1%	53.7%	64.5%
Islam	6.7%	21.8%	7.5%	1.1%
Sikhism	2.4%	3%	5%	1.7%
No Religion	22%	19.3%	23%	24.1%

The statistics demonstrate how the ethnic and religious diversity between Warwickshire and two nearby cities are noticeably different. The variety in such a relatively small geographical area makes comparisons between peoples and cultures in these regions more noticeable – highlighting the possible importance that racial or religious understanding may have on the participants of this study. See Umaňa-Taylor 2005 and Cantle 2012 for more details on how ethnic and religious diversity (sometimes called the “ethnic cliff”) can affect individuals and communities.

A brief examination of the previous census data (from 2001) also demonstrated that the internal diversity of Warwickshire has changed over the past 10 years, with a recent decrease in the number of people categorising themselves as White or Christian, which could have contributed to the participant's perceptions of regional change.

5.2.2b Warwickshire Districts

Additional Warwickshire Observatory documents (2009) revealed that Warwickshire has low crime rates, high employment figures and good school examination results: again demonstrating the relatively privileged lifestyle of the communities in this county. With respect to the specific census data on each district, I again focussed on the ethnic and religious diversity, but incorporated some additional information, as this was important for the context of the data gathered.

In general, the dominant ethnic group was White, with Stratford-on-Avon having over 93% in this category (the lowest district was Warwick at 83.4%). The population of those from Pakistani heritage was between <0.1% (North Warwickshire and Stratford) and 0.6% (Rubgy), and those from Indian heritage between 0.5% (Stratford) and 4.9% (Warwick). All districts had over 92% of residents using English as the main language and about 75% male employment rate (over 65% female). The comparative religious differences between the districts were of particular interest and have thus been presented in the table below.

Table 5.3: Warwickshire District Data on Religious Diversity

	North Warwickshire	Nuneaton and Bedworth	Rugby	Stratford-upon-Avon	Warwick
Christianity	70.3%	63.6%	63.7%	70.3%	58.3%
Islam	0.2%	2.3%	1.2%	0.2%	0.9%
Sikhism	0.4%	2.2%	0.8%	0.2%	3.9%
No Religion	21.9%	24%	24.3%	21.2%	27.5%

These subtle differences between Warwickshire districts were noticeable in the data collected; the local surroundings affected how the participants perceived themselves and how they perceived their location *in comparison* to nearby cities (in particular

Birmingham). In my opinion, it was the underlying power-knowledge dynamics associated with noticeable difference (hegemony) that impacted *how* the participants divulged their perceptions about terrorism.

However, although perceptions of the local area could have been influential to the pupils' perceptions of terrorism, additional research would need to be conducted to see if these views also contributed to any emerging terrorist threats, or to wider problems associated with multiculturalism and community segregation (Thomas 2011). Some scholars and commentators have raised concerns that Britain is "sleepwalking to segregation" (Phillips 2005) and that there has been a "white backlash" (Hewitt 2005) against certain ethnic and religious communities, but since my research was only conducted in schools, this thesis cannot (nor did it intend to) hypothesise about such concerns. My findings, including those outlined below from the Police Prevent Team, should be considered part of the conversation into how local differences can contribute to the perceptions of terrorism expressed by pupils, rather than something that necessarily exposes wider concerns about the possible failings of multiculturalism.

5.3 The Police Prevent Team's interactions with Warwickshire Schools

Part of my research into the local area incorporated an investigation into how Warwickshire Schools were directly affected by State counter-terrorism mechanics: namely how the counter-terrorism procedures, as coordinated by Warwickshire and West Mercia Police, affected (or interacted with) schools in the local area.[14]

The sources gathered from the local Prevent team included Warwickshire local

[14] For an overview of general counter-terrorism policing in the West Midlands see Lamb 2012

government website information, an informal interview with the team leader (PT1) and a number of materials used by the team within schools. From these sources, I discovered that the primary aim of the Prevent team was to prevent radicalisation before it could begin: they worked in a "pre-criminal space" (PT1), where they supported and protected people from terrorist or extremist ideas (also see Sullivan 2009). Although the Prevent team also did a wide range of programmes with community groups, including the Scouts or women's groups, the work in schools was considered important because it was through the schools that the vast majority of children could be reached.

The in-school programmes generally appeared in the guise of safeguarding measures, similar to the anti-bullying or personal safety materials found in PHSE curriculum documents and were all conducted with the expressed aim of raising awareness. One example was the "Act Now" programme, conducted with Years 10-12, but I was most interested in the "Common Goals" programme because this was conducted with pupils from Years 7-9. This course focussed on how individuals become part of a group and can gradually be coaxed into anti-social or criminal activities. The Prevent team discussed how groups entice people to join, using the example of a young boy involved in 7/7 to remind pupils of how easy it was to get persuaded to participate in activities that may be socially unacceptable. The main message was that anyone could be affected by this gradual process of radicalisation, thus it was important for pupils to be aware of the moral implications associated with any activities they became involved in.

Within Warwickshire, PT1 believed that the main form of radicalisation came from right-wing political thinking, in particular nationalism and anti-immigration. On occasion, the team did specifically approach schools in those areas that they were

concerned about (for example, in case study 3 the local area had a high EDL presence),[15] but the general aim was to conduct some work in every school so that no individuals or areas were singled out.

During my teacher interviews, I discovered that most teachers were unaware of the Prevent Strategy, and those that did know about it were unclear about what the Police Prevent team did within schools. According to PT1, their programmes had been conducted in a total of 22 education establishments in Warwickshire around this time, however in relation to my project, only 3 of the 6 schools had been contacted: CS5 chose not to undertake the programme; CS2 had allowed them to conduct work with older pupils; and CS3 had given the team full access to pupils. In CS3, the head of department was very complimentary of the work conducted, but another teacher was concerned that some of the materials supplied had been passed onto teachers with no training, which could lead to misunderstanding and make the situation worse (CS3.T3). However, the teacher felt that such problems could be overcome with more detailed resources and training, perhaps done with the help of education experts.

Overall, the work conducted by the Police Prevent Team was intended to help prevent terrorism before it could begin, by discussing the process of radicalisation with young people: something which was noticeable within the data gathered from CS3, but which also resonated in some of the data gathered from the teachers themselves. However, excluding CS3, I did not think that this explicit form of State mechanics directly influenced or affected the data gathered in the other case studies.

[15] The EDL or English Defence League is a far-right political movement that focuses on opposing what they consider to be a spread of Islamisation in the UK.

5.4 The Fieldwork Request as a Power-Domain

Contacting and accessing schools was one of the most significant aspects of the research, because it was only through the acceptance of my fieldwork request that research could take place. A total of 6 schools agreed to take part: 4 mixed-sex comprehensive schools and 2 single-sex grammar schools. The details of these schools will be discussed in the context of each case study; this section will provide an initial overview of the general power-dynamics I encountered when trying to access schools because this determined the parameters by which data could be collected. This section is based on those knowable facets of power-knowledge, explained in Chapter 2.

After reflection, I discovered that it was in the fieldwork requests where the most explicit "effects of domination" (Foucault 1991:26) could be felt. Of particular interest were the difficulties encountered when trying to gain access to pupils: this highlighted different levels of power - expressed on a practical level of general access restrictions, but also on a deeper level as a feeling of concern about pupils discussing terrorism.

Concentrating on what I have categorised as the "disposition of concern" exposed how the effect of power "is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated" (Foucault 1991:27). For example, on a researcher-level, "concern" is exhibited by the ethical procedures put in place by the university, because these demonstrate the accountability required by, and for, the institution (namely, the manoeuvres, tactics and techniques required for any research project). However, once the fieldwork requests were sent to schools, another level of consideration was felt: an enhanced disposition of concern and a greater need to exhibit deliberated sensitivity.

After reflecting on the reasons for this enhanced concern (by carefully examining the data), I concluded that it was the topic in itself that had caused a heightened sense of wariness and reduced access to pupils. The research request had highlighted a subtle, yet explicit, level of power associated with terrorism: subtle due to the internalized feelings of concern, yet explicit as a topic that is perceived to cause controversy. These levels of power were made more explicit when the focus of perceived links to religion were expressed: it brought to the fore a different level of controversy, a deeper concern and, on occasion, a desire to withdraw engagement with the research.

One example of how this concern directly affected the research process was in the choice of subject departments: due to my academic and teaching background, I wanted to approach RE departments, but instead, chose PHSE. Although some of the reasons for choosing PHSE, including limiting bias and so on, were due to the nature of my research questions, it was the hostility I encountered during my original requests to discuss this topic in RE that really exposed how the disposition of concern became enhanced when terrorism was linked to religion. Indeed, explicitly requesting RE lessons or initiating research requests by informing schools about the exact focus of my research was considered too “sensitive” and resulted in no access being granted. However, what was interesting (albeit a bit confusing) was that my manoeuvre to request access to PHSE lessons was deemed appropriate enough to demonstrate my awareness of the topic's sensitivities. In all cases, it actually resulted in schools increasing access – either to RE teachers, or in one case, to a specific RE class (in some schools, RE and PHSE were combined into a single department). All the participating teachers made a link between terrorism and religion, and when I discussed my research

focus in more detail, it was met with interest, which differed greatly to the initial hostility I had encountered during my preliminary email or phone conversations.

I concluded that this simple tactic of requesting PHSE lessons had, on some level, demonstrated to schools that I understood and respected the perceived sensitivity of the topic. Furthermore, in performing this act, I had also discovered something much more interesting about the power-knowledge at work within this topic. It not only highlighted the enhanced sensitivity associated with discussing the religious links to terrorism, but also brought into question the power-domain of where such knowledge could be discussed, as well as some of the wider social expectations that are exhibited through the act of discussing such knowledge with young people. To bring this back to Foucault's "effects of domination" one can see how the "disposition of concern" resulted in a manoeuvre away from an explicit research request; it was a tactic to ensure fieldwork could occur; a technique of divulging the research parameters in face-to-face meeting; that functioned to serve the researcher's need for fieldwork data.

However, what was it about the topic of terrorism, and the more specific dynamic of religious associations with terrorism, that enhanced the noticeable disposition of *concern*? Why was power exhibited in this way and for what purpose? What does it show about the wider issues surrounding this topic? To better comprehend the function of this power, it was necessary to reflect on why this occurred.

5.4.1 The Power of 'Concern'

The power of 'concern' affected the disclosure of knowledge and perceptions about terrorism, thus it was important to explore how it was expressed during the research

process, using examples from the initial discourses and behaviours of gatekeepers (activity 2). These examples revealed those perceptions that were permitted exposure, thereby providing deeper insights into the power-knowledge dynamic behind the preferred perceptions of terrorism, or rather the preferred manner in which they could be disclosed.

This section will examine some of the influential concepts that emerged from this focus on 'concern', including: the protective duties of gatekeepers; the concerns about discussing terrorism; perceptions of surveillance; the mechanics of school discipline; and the wider social concerns about discussing the relationship between religion, violence and terrorism.

5.4.1a The 'Protective' Duties of Gatekeepers

My encounters with the “disposition of concern” highlighted how conceptualisations of this research project affected the degree to which gatekeepers exhibited their sense of social responsibility, or protective duty, in relation to children. Perhaps it was the topic of terrorism in itself that had exposed the strength of the gatekeepers' desire to protect childhood innocence: not necessarily from the physical acts of terrorism, but rather from the potential risks associated with *discussing* the topic, including how the power of concern may be expressed by their own, and other's, conceptualisations of the project.

This was particularly noticeable during my initial interactions with teachers. Many commented that they wanted to ensure that the pupils would not get uncomfortable during discussions and requested very detailed information about the research, data collection events and so on. In two case studies, the heads of department asked for my

lesson plan and altered them to suit their classes; in both cases, the group discussion time were reduced and replaced with requests for either the teacher or myself to discuss the rules regarding participation in classroom discussions. Although this could be interpreted as good classroom practice (Brooks *et. al.* 2004), focussing the pupils' attention back onto the rules strengthened the teacher-power in the classroom and reminded the pupils that their interactions were being monitored, thus inhibiting their potential for open discussion.

The potential risks from simply *discussing* what was deemed a controversial topic demonstrated the function of language and dialogues as exhibitions of power. The disposition of concern fed into, and was a consequence of, the power of language: the spoken and written word in itself was used to create, manipulate and alter one's perceptions. However, *how* one then disclosed these perceptions was in itself a demonstration of power. What was deemed 'appropriate' during a discussion highlighted the subtle, and sometimes explicit, awareness of the effects that language-power-knowledge had in society. The teachers' disposition of concern exposed this power at work: the guise of adhering to social expectations (such as protecting children) actually exhibited concerns about the purpose and nature of engaging in *discussion*. I would argue that it was this that lay at the heart of the disposition of concern: not a sense of social responsibility towards protecting children, but rather a wariness or fear of engaging with the results of any discussions about terrorism.

What is it about terrorism, and its perceived links to religion, that brings forth a concern about *engaging in dialogue*? To answer this question, I will now examine some of the ideas that emerged from the data, including: the fear of discussing 'Terrorism'; the role

of perceived Surveillance mechanisms and the impact of ‘Discipline of Schools’. These ideas shed light on some of the influential power-knowledge mechanics that impacted the research process, so that we can better understand the framework by which discussion took place. The exploration of these concepts will help explain *how* certain ideas were divulged, but the ideas in themselves will be discussed during each case study (see Chapter 7).

5.4.1b The Fear of Discussing 'Terrorism'

I hypothesise that concerns about discussing terrorism originated in the etymology and archaeology of the word (namely, the historical foundations and so on) because the word itself brought forth the concepts of terror and fear. Thus, it is understandable that discussing such a concept was in itself a fearful, even terrorising, notion (although this would depend on one's definition of “terrorism”, see Kapitan 2003). In a way, the word has become a working category of power in its own right: it brought forth certain ideas and responses, which formed part of the micro-physics of power associated with terrorism. Indeed, the pupil data showed that the emerging fears of discussing 'terrorism' had a function that fed into, and explained why, certain ideas about terrorism were expressed.

Returning to Foucault for a moment, he suggested that “discourse will become the vehicle of law: the constant principle of universal recording” (Foucault 1991:112). During activity 2, some teachers expressed concerns about the possible ramifications of the dialogues being recorded and observed, that they would be used for purposes beyond my research. In one case study, the head of department wanted reassurances, in writing, that the recordings would only be listened to by myself – although he did not

provide reasons for this concern, it resulted in certain tactics (such as a reassurance of anonymity) being used during my interactions. In my opinion, this was an explicit example of how discussing terrorism had almost become 'terrorised' in its own right, and a reflection of the perceived role of surveillance in society.

5.4.1c The role of Perceived Surveillance

The manoeuvres used to control *how* dialogue could proceed were expressed through certain discourses, silenced discourses and behaviours of gatekeepers. Namely, in their responses to the disposition of concern over how the school, and the gatekeeper's subject area(s), were presented, perceived and then recalled or surveyed by internal and external persons. As Foucault noted, “although surveillance rests on individuals, its functioning is that of a network of relations from top to bottom, but also to a certain extent from bottom to top and laterally; this network 'holds' the whole together and traverses in its entirety with effects of power that derive from another: supervisors, perpetually supervised” (Foucault 1991:176-177).

Thus, the gatekeepers used tactics to ensure that they had some degree of control over the research process, both as supervisors in their own right, but also over the process of being supervised by the various parties involved. The tactics they used to ensure positive perceptions were achieved was demonstrated by the choice in participating teachers, the location of interviews, the classroom environments, and the classes chosen for participation. I also discovered that through the agreement to partake in research, gatekeepers wanted the pupils, other teachers, and members of senior management, to see the importance of their subject and teaching, perhaps to improve their status within the school. As will become apparent through my descriptions of each case study, certain

manoeuvres were made in every school to ensure that they achieved positive feedback: the power of observation "make[s] it possible to see induced effects of power" (Foucault 1991:170). Thus the technique of controlling the location and people involved, ensured that the gatekeepers' felt they had some power over *how* dialogue took place, and thus, to some degree, over the subsequent ideas disclosed during the research process.

However, there was also another layer of surveillance that became apparent in some of the teachers' dispositions, comments and actions: namely that of some greater society-wide or government surveillance involved in my research. I noticed that a number of teachers doubted that I was an independent researcher and deliberately manoeuvred the conversations away from topics that they thought may be misinterpreted or somehow used to portray the school in a bad light. To gain more trust, I visited those schools a number of times, which resulted in some teachers becoming more open about their school or about their opinions, but they remained unhappy with the digital recorder because they did not want "anyone else to hear what I have to say" (comment from school notes). In one example, the teacher was initially happy for me to record his conversation, then asked me to turn it off mid-conversation because he was concerned about who might listen to his later comments.

Therefore, the perceived role of surveillance – be it from the researcher, the school or wider society – had a role, a function, in the research process: it was an influential mechanism that dictated the permissible scope of information divulged to the various (observing) parties. The gatekeepers technique of locating obtainable information, through the use of specific people and environments, not only demonstrated their

desired control and power in (or over) the research process, but also their desire to use the research process to promote their status in the school, as well as the status of the school. These techniques demonstrated the gatekeepers "effort to adjust the mechanisms of power that frame the everyday lives of individuals; an adaptation and a refinement of the machinery that assumes responsibility for and place under surveillance their everyday behaviour, their identity, their activity" (Foucault 1991:77). In other words, the perceived power of surveillance had resulted in the gatekeepers defining, and refining, the parameters of data collection through the use of those mechanisms of power at their disposal: their ability to control the scope of surveillance demonstrated how surveillance works as a mechanism of disciplinary power (Foucault 1991:175), that formed part of the overall expressions of 'School Discipline'.

5.4.2 The Mechanics of School Discipline

By observing the functions of surveillance within the research process, we are pointed towards a broader power dynamic at work: namely, the mechanics of 'School Discipline', by which I mean those powers expressed through, and expected by, schools. Exposing this power demonstrated some of the wider considerations at work within the research process, which in turn affected the results. According to Foucault, this can expressed by: the layout or environment of the school; the timetabling and administrative processes; the partitioning and ranking of pupils; lesson planning; the classroom layout; and the expected behaviours of the pupils towards their teachers (see Foucault 1991:141-154). The activities, behaviours and knowledge exhibited by pupils highlight the success (or failure) of these disciplinary mechanisms at work within the school.

All participating schools exhibited these universal disciplinary features, but how they manipulated them was specific to each case study. For example, some gatekeepers deliberately chose classrooms (for both their interviews and the research events) with exceptional pupil displays (which were pointed out to myself), whereas others chose groups that they deemed more capable than others. Although more details will be provided in my overview of each case study, I noted that these discipline techniques impacted on all the participants' interactions with the research process, sometimes explicitly (such as time allocations), but also more subtly, through the general classroom and wider school environment. They also affected the research process: I had to incorporate, and respond to, the variations between schools, such as the length of lessons, the hierarchical streaming (or lack thereof) of pupils and so on. Perhaps it was fortunate that I had trained and worked as a teacher, because these processes have almost become internalised: I am consciously aware, and subconsciously use, those teacher-disciplinary techniques that ensure teaching and learning can take place in the classroom. Indeed, my research design, and responses to research events, incorporated tactics and techniques that ensured all individuals could engage with the research. Furthermore, the participants' responses were subject to my expectations of appropriate behaviour or language: namely, the normalizing of judgement used by teachers during classroom activities (Foucault 1991:170). My pedagogical practices also exhibited what Foucault called the mastery of time, "arranged by different stages… [and] meticulous in its detail" (Foucault 1997:159); the divisions of time in a school, and indeed within each lesson, ensured a level of control or power over the learning environment, and provided a framework by which the mechanics of 'Discipline' could achieve their goal – ideas that were replicated throughout the research process.

The expected ‘Discipline within Schools’, as expressed through the techniques of discipline used in each school, affected the nature and scope of information gathered during each data collection event. Although some of these disciplinary considerations were part of the inescapable internal mechanics of schools (such as timetabling, environment and so on), the use of manoeuvrable disciplines shed light on the nature of the gatekeeper's disposition of concern. However, it was through an exploration of the timings and chosen groups that made visible the nature of those concerns that the gatekeepers wanted to avoid exposing. For example, the exclusion of certain pupils, the location and interactions of the gatekeepers and/or classroom teachers during research events, the changes in dialogue during interviews and so on, highlighted when surveillance was not permitted and resulted in the silencing of certain discourses, and it was through the exploration of these examples that those specific topics were uncovered.

5.4.3 Exposing ‘Hidden’ Concerns

Excluding those noticeable gatekeeper concerns linked to discussing terrorism and the role of surveillance, I discovered a few concerns that the gatekeepers deliberately tried to avoid exposing. Some manoeuvres used by the gatekeepers were intended to silence certain discussions, but it was the very act of silencing them that exposed the boundaries of permissible discourse and shed light on the nature of the gatekeepers' concerns.

After closely examining all my notes on the initial interactions with teachers, I noticed two key concerns: a determination to demonstrate a lack of prejudice and racism in their school and a desire to show that they had no concerns about community cohesion. Despite no deliberate request on my part, some teachers even provided school

documents or individual lesson plans that demonstrated how they worked on preventing prejudice amongst pupils. These interactions demonstrated those topics that teachers were concerned about exposing: namely potential prejudice and/or a lack of local community cohesion. Although I will explore this in more detail within each case study, it is important to note that these 'hidden' concerns probably affected the chosen groups and classrooms involved in the study. It also highlighted how the local and regional perceptions affected the gatekeepers' understanding of the possible topics that could be raised by discussing terrorism, which in turn affected the scope of the data gathered.

5.5 Conclusion

This section provided a brief overview of those influential power-knowledge domains that I believed affected the research project. The local geography and demographic data demonstrated why Warwickshire was such an interesting choice: the close proximity of large cities with large multi-cultural communities (Birmingham and Coventry) to the relatively mono-cultural landscape of Warwickshire demonstrated how certain regional differences may have impacted on the results gathered.

My exploration of initial teacher interactions focussed on the "disposition of concern" and exposed how certain manoeuvres, tactics and disciplinary techniques were used to restrict the parameters of pupil discussions. Discovering these processes of disclosure highlighted the impact that such power-knowledge dynamics had on the data, particularly in terms of the parameters by which such data could be gathered, which in turn had the positive effect of exposing other considerations for the research. After exploring my notes in detail, I concluded that the reasons for restricting access were not simply due to concern about the pupils' welfare, but also due to concerns about the topic

itself, including the risks involved in discussing terrorism (including revelations of prejudice or racism) as well as the potential surveillance of the gatekeepers and their pupils by both internal and external parties.

Raising awareness of these influential factors was crucial to understanding the overall scope of the data collected. However, as I will now explore, the overall survey data and details from each case study provided different insights into the effects of these power dynamics, which in turn also affected the exposed discourses of the participants (see Chapters 6 and 7). The scope of the data gathered included survey materials from 264 pupils and discussion group data from 73 pupils. In addition to the school policy, curriculum and additional documents disclosed, transcripts from the teacher interviews, as well as the collated survey data, were used for the analysis (see Chapters 8, 9 and 10).

Chapter 6

Results: The Survey

6.1 Introduction

This section will begin with an overview of the basic information about the pupils within each group that took part in each case study. However, for ease of readership, the remainder of the survey results have been combined, so that the focus can be on the specific ideas associated with the research questions. Once this data has been summarised, an overview of each individual case study, including the teacher interviews and pupil discussions, will be provided in the following chapter.

A total of 264 pupils responded to the written activities: 148 boys and 116 girls (case studies 5 and 6 were single-sex grammar schools). Approximately 70% of pupils categorised themselves as white British and 17% were mixed-British heritage. With respect to religion, 53% stated they had “no religion” and 25% categorised themselves as Christian. The results for ethnicity and religion were fairly similar across all case studies.

Table 6.1: Pupil's Gender

	CS1		CS2		CS3		CS4		CS5			CS6	Total
GROUP	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**C**	**A**	
Boy	8	10	9	7	16	14	12	16	21	21	14	0	**148**
Girl	12	13	15	15	11	10	10	11	0	0	0	19	**116**
Total	**20**	**23**	**24**	**22**	**27**	**24**	**22**	**27**	**21**	**21**	**14**	**19**	**264**

Table 6.2: Pupil's Ethnicity

	CS1		CS2		CS3		CS4		CS5			CS6	Total
GROUP	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**C**	**A**	
(White) British	14	13	18	15	19	17	17	16	16	17	10	15	**187**
(Mixed) British	3	7	6	4	3	4	0	9	4	2	3	1	**46**
Other	1	2	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	**13**
Not stated	*2*	*1*	*0*	*2*	*5*	*2*	*3*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*2*	***18***

Table 6.3: Pupil's Religion

	CS1		CS2		CS3		CS4		CS5			CS6	Total
GROUP	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**A**	**B**	**C**	**A**	
Christian	3	4	5	7	8	8	2	4	7	6	7	4	**65**
Sikh	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	**8**
Hindu	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	**4**
Muslim	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	**5**
No Religion	11	13	17	10	11	5	16	18	12	11	6	11	**141**
Not sure	*6*	*4*	*1*	*4*	*6*	*7*	*4*	*1*	*1*	*3*	*1*	*3*	***41***

6.2 Starter Activity

6.2.1 Word Frequency

As explained in my methodology (Chapter 4), the word frequency data from the starter activity provided some useful initial insights because it demonstrated the pupil's prior knowledge on the topic. However, since pupils were able to select their own words, there were a wide range of responses, therefore, I have chosen those words with the highest frequency.

The most noticeable words that appeared across all data sets included bombs or explosives (115); 9/11 or Twin Towers (111); Osama bin Laden (61); al-Qaeda (51) and death or dying (51). This shows that the pupils initial word association response was to recollect noticeable examples of terrorism, in particular 9/11 and the associated

perpetrators of this event. The word “religion” or “religious” was specifically used by 32 of the pupils (a high proportion of those pupils were in CS5), but a third of all pupils did use an alternate word that could also be associated with religion, such as “belief” or “Islam”. No other specific religion was mentioned during this exercise.

The results below have been put into order from highest to lowest frequency counts.

Table 6.4: Starter Word Frequency

Word	CS1	CS2	CS3	CS4	CS5	CS6	Total
Bomb(s) / explosives	15	23	22	16	29	8	**113**
9/11 or Twin Towers	19	20	16	18	31	7	**111**
Osama bin Laden	13	8	4	14	19	3	**61**
Al-Qaeda	6	13	4	6	21	1	**51**
Death(s) / Dying	8	10	8	11	8	6	**51**
Gun(s) / shootings	9	3	6	4	6	6	**34**
Religion / Religious	3	3	5	5	13	3	**32**
Terror / fear	4	7	7	5	8	1	**32**
Suicide	7	7	2	4	9	2	**31**
Destruction / destroy	1	5	11	3	7	0	**27**
Islam / Muslim	2	9	0	7	8	0	**26**
Violence	2	3	6	6	2	4	**23**
Bad /wrong / evil	2	0	11	2	2	0	**22**
War	3	3	3	2	5	1	**17**
Belief	4	0	5	0	5	2	**16**
London bombings	3	2	0	3	5	3	**16**

6.2.2 Starter Sentences

The sentence responses to the starter “I think terrorism is …” have been summarised according to topic or key phrase used. For example, one pupil wrote terrorism is “a bad thing and is mainly done by black people” (CS4B.P26) and this was put under the category “race / racism”. However, in some cases, multiple categories were required. For example, one pupil wrote terrorism is “when people plan and attack a place or person because of their religion (to get a message across)” (CS1A.P05) and this

response was put into the “religious reasons”, “to send a message” and “planned attack” categories (the latter topic has been omitted due to low frequency count). Although some interpretation was required by the researcher, these categorisations were deemed necessary to ensure a more concise overview of the key topics could be presented.

This exercise showed that most pupils thought that to hurt or kill someone was the most associated idea, which differed to the initial word association of an example, such as 9/11 or a bomb. Religious reasons also featured highly, but the proportion of responses from pupils in Case Study 5 was significantly higher than the other case studies, which required some consideration. A few pupils used alternate words that could be associated with religion, including belief, extremism and Muslim. There were 5 examples where another religion (Sikhism or Christianity) was mentioned, but these results were negligible and have thus been omitted.

A total of 238 pupils responded to this question. The results below have been put into order from highest to lowest frequency counts.

Table 6.5: Starter Sentence Theme Frequency

	CS1	CS2	CS3	CS4	CS5	CS6	Total
Hurt / kill	12	14	8	5	15	8	**62**
Religious reasons	8	8	5	6	23	5	**55**
Violent / violence	5	5	9	4	8	5	**36**
To send a message	4	7	5	4	3	2	**25**
Bomb / explosive	4	3	8	1	4	5	**25**
Wrong / bad	5	3	2	8	3	2	**23**
Belief	4	3	6	1	5	3	**22**
Extremism	1	7	2	5	6	0	**21**
Politics	1	2	1	2	4	5	**15**
Race / racism	1	1	2	3	2	2	**11**
Example given, e.g. 9/11	2	0	3	1	2	0	**8**
Muslim	0	0	2	1	3	0	**6**

6.2.3 Picture Responses

The picture responses from the case studies primarily focussed on 9/11 (see example 1) but there were some other interesting responses, some of which included a picture of a bearded man wearing a turban (more examples are included in Appendix 8).

Although a deeper analysis of these pictures is not possible because the pupils did not include detailed descriptions, they did demonstrate some of the imagery associated with terrorism, which was used to support the analysis

Figure 6.1: Example Pictures

Example 1: CS4.B.P16	Example 2: CS4.A.P07
	

The table below summerises my interpretation of the pictures drawn by pupils; the data has been collated from across all case studies and ordered from highest to lowest frequency counts.

Table 6.6: Type of Pictures Drawn

Picture	Number of Pupils
9/11 or Twin Towers	96
Bomb(s)	34
Gun(s)	24
Bearded man	10
Suicide bomb	7
Some form of destruction	7
None	*68*
Other / Unsure	*18*

6.3 Survey Data

Q1

(a) Have you discussed terrorism in school?

Approximately 43% of all pupils thought that they had discussed terrorism in school, with the majority of pupils in CS1B, CS2 and CS3 responding positively to this question. A total of 27% of pupils were unsure.

(b) When was it discussed?

The majority of pupils who responded "yes" to part (a) stated that they thought they had discussed terrorism either in RE (65%) or PHSE (34%). Some pupils also thought they may have discussed it during assembly or form time (30%) and a few mentioned other subjects including English, History and Geography.

(c) What was discussed?

Most of the pupils who responded to this question simply wrote that they discussed "something" about terrorism, but those pupils who did provide specific details typically mentioned an event (such as 9/11 or 7/7). The pupils at CS2 provided the most details of a lesson where they had discussed the media influence in their perceptions of Islam, which was something mentioned by their teacher.

Q2

Would you like to discuss it more in school?

Although no timetabled example lesson was provided for this question, the majority of pupils (68%) felt that they would like to discuss terrorism in more detail in school. A total of 24% were unsure.

Q3

(a) Would you like to know more (in general)?

Over 72% of pupils stated that they would like to know more about terrorism in general. Only 14% stated that they were unsure.

(b) What would you like to know about?

The majority of pupils who replied "yes" to Q3(a) wanted more (basic) information about terrorism (55%), in particular what motivated terrorists to act (51%). A few pupils were concerned about the UK's level of risk from terrorist attacks (7%).

Q4

Where do you think terrorism happens?

Over 70% of all pupils thought that terrorism could happen anywhere (only 4% were not sure). Those pupils who thought that terrorism could happen in specific countries stated a range of locations, including the USA (9%), the UK (5%) and Pakistan / Afghanistan (both at 3%). A few pupils added the Middle East, Ireland, Israel and Africa.

Q5

(a) Do you worry about terrorism happening where you live?

Approximately 60% of pupils were not concerned about terrorism happening where they lived. 27% were "a little" worried and 7% were unsure.

(b) Comment

Most pupils who were not concerned about terrorism happening where they lived. Most thought that their local village or town was too small (35%) or unimportant (15%); some simply wrote that it was a "safe" location (23%). Approximately 22% thought that another city, such as Coventry, Birmingham or London would be a more likely target. For those pupils who were concerned (or who wrote "a little"), most wrote that they thought terrorism could happen anywhere (49%).

Q6

What do you think the terrorist threat level is …

(a) Where you live? **(b) UK wide?**

The results showed that the pupils generally felt that the terrorist threat level where they lived was "low", but that it was either at "substantial" or "moderate" for the whole of the UK. During the research events, the threat level from international terrorism for the whole of the UK was considered "substantial" ("Threat Levels", MI5 website). A total of 262 pupils responded to this question and the responses have been collated from across all case studies.

Table 6.7: Perceived Terrorist Threat Level

	(a) Where you live?	(b) UK wide
Critical	0	3
Severe	0	28
Substantial	1	111
Moderate	45	112
Low	216	8

Q7

News sources

Most pupils stated one or two sources in response to this question. The highest proportion of pupils cited the BBC News (173 pupils), although other TV News stations (such as Sky News or ITV News) and media sources were mentioned. A total of 45 pupils neither watched nor read any news sources. These responses have again been collated from across all case studies.

Table 6.8: News Sources

News Source	Number of Pupils
BBC News	173
Other TV News	59
Tabloid Newspapers (e.g. The Sun)	45
Broadsheet Newspapers (e.g. The Guardian)	26
None	*45*

Q8

Recent stories

82 pupils responded to this question: 27 pupils mentioned 9/11 and 26 mentioned the death of Osama bin Laden. A few pupils mentioned countries they had heard recently,

including Afghanistan (8), Norway (8) and Libya (5) and a few pupils had some unique answers including the underpants bomber, cyber-terrorism, Abu Qatada (a Jordanian national who was extradited from the UK under terrorism charges) and a USA school shooting.

Q9

Any other TV programmes or documentaries?

Most pupils wrote that they had watched something about 9/11 or Osama bin Laden (113 pupils), but a few other interesting sources included the films *4 Lions*, *The Hurt Locker* and *Flashpoint*, as well as the TV shows *Homeland*, *Desperate Housewives* and *Crimewatch*. A few pupils also mentioned watching "something" and provided a brief description, but they were unclear about the title of the show.

Q10

(a) Have you discussed this with friends or family?

The majority of pupils did not think they had discussed the topic with friends or family (45%), 40% thought that they had and 15% were unsure.

(b) What have you discussed?

Of those pupils who responded "yes", 23% remembered discussing why terrorism happens and a further 10% had discussed the ethical implications of terrorism. Approximately 23% had discussed either 9/11 or Osama bin Laden, whilst 13% had discussed an alternative event, such as 7/7 or a suicide attack. One pupil mentioned the Tokyo underground sarin attack and another remembered Norway, whilst a few other pupils remembered discussing "Muslims", "Islam" and "what a terrorist looks like".

Q11

Terrorist Group or Names

The majority of pupils wrote 1 or more names in response to Q11 and the most common name was Osama bin Laden (169 pupils). Some interesting single responses included: Putin, Kim Jong Ill, Guy Fawkes, kamikaze and Sea Shepherds. The table below summarises the most frequently mentioned names from across all case studies.

Table 6.9: Names of Terrorists/Terrorist Groups

Name of Terrorist / Terrorist Group	Number of Pupils
Osama bin Laden	169
Al-Qaeda	165
Taliban	30
IRA	29
KKK	11
Colonel Gaddafi	10
Nazi	6

Q12

Terrorist Activities

In response to Q11, most pupils wrote that a terrorist activity was a bombing or explosive, typically a suicide attack (119 pupils). Some interesting single responses included: bullying, WWII Concentration Camps, Poppy burning, holy war, anthrax and arson. The table below summarises the most frequently mentioned names from across all case studies.

Table 6.10: Known Terrorist Activities

Terrorist Activity	Number of Pupils
Suicide Bombing	119
9/11 Attacks	111
Killing	40
7/7 Attacks	39
Hijacking a Plane	18
War	11

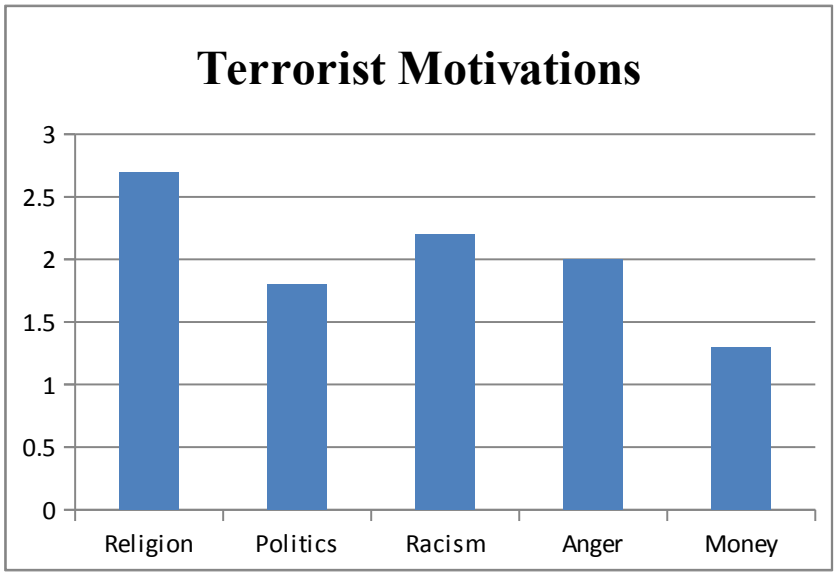
Q13

What do you think motivates terrorists?

Of the 256 pupils who responded to this question, 140 thought that religion was the most likely motivation for terrorists. Since the pupils were asked to rank their responses in order of importance, each response was given a value and the mean score was calculated so that the strength of the pupils' views could be better comprehended.

For example, if a pupil thought that “religion” was the highest (represented by the number “1”), this was given the value “5”; the second highest was “2” and thus given the value “4” and so on. These values were then added up and divided so that the mean for each response could be ascertained. As can be seen in the graph of mean responses below, religion was considered the highest motivator of terrorism, followed by racism, anger, politics and finally money.

Figure 6.2: Perceived Terrorist Motivations



Other Motivations

A few pupils added their own words after Q13. The most common word was revenge (x8 pupils), but some other words included beliefs (x7), drugs (x6), power (x4) and war (x3).

Q14

Comments

A few pupils added their own comments at the end of the questionnaire: most wrote that terrorism was wrong or bad (34 pupils), although a few pupils also wrote that terrorism should be stopped (10 pupils). Some other responses included: immigration, Russians, video games (*Call of Duty*), long beards and devastation.

Take part in discussion group

Over 70% of all pupils wanted to take part in the group discussion in research session 2.

Plenary

For the reflection questions at the end of research session 1, the majority of pupils (39%) stated that they felt that their knowledge of terrorism had expanded in some way; 30% thought that their views had stayed the same. A number of pupils added additional comments, with the highest number of comments concerning the ethical issues associated with terrorism (15%) or how they perceived the religious associations to terrorism (7%).

6.4 Conclusion

From this data, some general ideas emerged. Firstly, the pupils used examples of terrorism in reference to their comprehension of terrorism. The most noticeable of these was 9/11 and its associated perpetrators (Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda). Secondly, the pupils considered religion in general to be an important motivator for terrorism and similar terms, including belief, extremism and Islam, also featured in their perceptions. The pupils felt relatively safe in their location (Warwickshire) in comparison to the cities of Birmingham or London or indeed to other areas of the UK in general. They also highlighted some sources for their information about terrorism, including school lessons, discussions with family or friends and the media (in particular the BBC News). This data provided a simple overview of the general ideas that arose from the survey data, some of which was explored in greater depth during the focus groups and teacher interviews, as will now be discussed.

Chapter 7

Results: The Case Studies

This chapter provides an overview of the other data sets gathered from each of the 6 case studies. This includes the school background, the teacher interviews and the focus groups for each case study. A total of 73 pupils were involved in the focus groups and 11 teachers were formally interviewed. After these have been presented individually, the comparisons made between data sets will be explored in the following chapters.

Case Study 1

7.CS1.1 Overview

CS1 was in a white, middle-class district of Warwickshire: the vast majority of 16-18 year olds were in education, employment or training. Pupils in the district tended to do well in examinations – in 2009, 35% of pupils received 3 or more A* and A GCSE grades and 71% achieving 5 or more A*-C GCSE grades, which were the highest scores in Warwickshire (Warwickshire District Documents 2009).

According to CS1's most recent Ofsted report (2012), CS1's demographic reflected the district's statistics as being predominantly White British. It was a mixed, non-selective, 11-18 school with approximately 1500 pupils coming from a large local town and surrounding villages. Ofsted graded its overall effectiveness at 3 (satisfactory) and the gatekeeper (T1) provided me with additional details of the anti-bullying policy, because he felt it important to demonstrate the positive work done in the school. The document highlighted some areas undisclosed during our discussions, including how "bullying

motivated by prejudice is a particular concern… for example Islamophobia and against Travellers, refugees and asylum seekers" (CS1 anti-bullying policy 2011).

T1 also supplied the Religious Education (RE), History and the Personal Development Programme (PHSE) curricula overviews. RE focused on Christianity but other faiths were taught "with a focus on the experiences therein" (CS1 Key Stage 3 booklet). In Year 9 RE, the pupils were introduced to ethical theories and all Year 10 pupils sat the OCR Religious Studies GCSE. Year 9 History began with Immigration and Diversity, including the "ingredients of British Society" and "stories of Commonwealth migrants". This was followed in the Spring Term by a module about World War II, including a section on the Holocaust. The Personal Development Programme for Year 9 encompassed Citizenship, PHSE as well as a Careers module; pupils began the school year with lessons on Citizenship, identities and diversity, rights and responsibilities and global citizenship. The choice of topics for Year 9 suggested a deliberated cross-curricula approach to diversity and community cohesion.

7.CS1.2 Results

The results gathered from CS1 included two Year 9, mixed ability groups: Group A with the gatekeeper, T1, and Group B with a classroom PHSE teacher, T2. The case studies took place in May-June 2012.

So that the reader can appreciate how the methodology, survey data and interviews are linked, I have provided a more detailed overview of the results from CS1.A. However, this data will be excluded from all subsequent case studies since these results were presented in Chapter 5.

7.CS1.2.1 Group A

7.CS1.2.1a Teacher interview (T1)

My main point of contact was the head of PHSE (T1); the teacher categorised himself as a 25 year old, black, male, agnostic, who trained for his PGCE in RE. I began the formal interview with some simple background questions, before asking him directly about the anti-bullying policy, to which he replied: “I try to bring in a variety of information that they might not be used to. For example, we did black history month… [and] this summer, the kids will investigate a different country from the Olympic Games.... that's one of the ways we try to mend [pause]... it’s something that I'm working towards”.

The conversation moved onto school events where terrorism had been discussed: in particular an assembly concerning the 10 year anniversary of 9/11, after which pupils were able to discuss “elements of terrorism (T1)” in subsequent PHSE lessons. Each teacher was provided with information on 9/11, but also encouraged to discuss their own ideas. T1 commented that 9/11 “stimulates their [the pupils’] ideas or responses, so unfortunately… that's going to bring in certain ideas”: although he did not provide specific examples, the context suggested that he had experienced negative responses about Islam. For example, T1 also commented on a lesson with an RE group where “Muslim extremists or terrorists” had been brought up out of context. T1 was more open about the examples of racism he had experienced, for example one pupil had used the word “nigger” to describe a black person and another, “tinted”.

When questioned about his perceptions of terrorism, T1 described it as: “acts of violence against the State that affected a variety or a lot of people, with limited

justification". He added the words "bombs", "religion" and "stereotypes". When I questioned him about what he meant by "stereotypes", he initially hesitated before commenting that "stereotypes are typically the Muslim, the extremist… and that's portrayed in the media, like the Daily Mail". The interview concluded with a discussion about how a typical Year 9 pupil may respond to questions about terrorism: T1 thought that "they would probably say somebody going against the law… or creating havoc". They may describe it as bombs or religion, and bring up examples like 9/11, the London bombings (7/7) or the London riots (August 2011). T1 believed that their views would be very broad and most likely reflect their parents' opinions.

7.CS1.2.1b Pupil Data

CS1.A was a mixed-low ability PHSE group of 20 pupils: 12 girls and 8 boys. They were all aged between 13-14 years old. The majority had no (or were unsure of) religious affiliation, with only 3 categorising themselves as Christian. Most pupils saw themselves as White English/British.

As it was the first group I had conducted research with, I have included a brief note on how the events herein altered my methodological approach to other schools. For example, I allowed T1 to introduce me to the class: however, in doing so, he reinforced the classroom rules and asked the pupils to give a good impression of the school, thus I decided against this approach in future case studies. Furthermore, T1 sat next to two girls throughout the session, which I suspected was due to behaviour or response concerns: he frequently talked quietly to them and this probably influenced their responses. For example, one of the girls described terrorism as "when (can't really say) harm or puts other people's lives in danger (P10)". Therefore, I requested that teachers

maintained minimal input in future case studies, unless required (which only occurred once during CS3.B).

Session 1

Starter activity

As outlined in my methodology (Chapter 4), I began by asking the pupils to write some words, a description and draw a picture, in response to the word "terrorism". The most noticeable phrases included bombs or explosives (x11 pupils). 1 pupil wrote "Muslim" (P13, who arrived late).

In response to the starter sentence "I think terrorism is...", the majority of pupils wrote that it was associated with an act of violence that hurt a large number of people. 2 pupils associated it with people who kill others, either "because of their religion (P05)" or "because they don't agree with them or their religion (P20)". Another pupil wrote "someone from another country coming to our country (P05)", which may have related to immigration concerns.

10 pupils chose to draw a picture of "terrorism"; 5 of whom drew a picture of a plane flying into two high rise buildings, which I assumed was 9/11. Other interesting pictures included an al-Qaeda suicide bomber and an IRA car bomb.

Survey

After providing basic information about themselves, the pupils were asked if they had discussed terrorism in school: T1 had mentioned that the group had an assembly on 9/11, but few pupils mentioned it. 12 pupils did want to know more about terrorism,

with most wanting to know more about their motivations.

When asked about the location of terrorists, most pupils replied “anywhere” (only 5 pupils replied “specific countries”). The pupils all thought that they lived in a safe location: most wrote that their local town was too small to be a target. The pupils were more concerned about the threat level in the UK as a whole.

With regards to recent news stories, most pupils watched BBC News. Few could remember stories about terrorism; 2 pupils wrote Norway, another mentioned Osama bin Laden's death and a further 2 wrote 9/11 and Kony, which T1 later informed me was a topic discussed in PHSE lessons. Half the pupils had discussed terrorism with friend or family, in particular 9/11, what motivated terrorists and “what a terrorist looks like (P10)”.

The predominant names that the pupils associated with terrorism included al-Qaeda (x14 pupils) or Osama bin Laden (x9) and the KKK (x5). Other names included “rebel groups (P02)”, the “Taliban (P06)” and “Muslims” (P13, the student who arrived late). The activities associated with terrorism were a bit more varied; a few mentioned 9/11 (x6) and 7/7 (x4), but one knew of the Manchester IRA bombs (P20). 8 pupils thought “bombing” (either people or buildings) was an activity associated with terrorism.

For terrorist motivations, the pupils had a list of 5 possible responses, with the option of adding extra words afterwards: religion was the motivation most strongly associated with terrorism and money was the least. Some additional words included “revenge (P01)”, “afterlife (P04)” and “killing their culture (P11)”.

Group Work and Plenary

Once the survey was completed, the class did some group work discussing their ideas. The majority of the pupils engaged well with the activity, with some discussing the 9/11 attacks and Anders Breivik (Norway). Once the group discussions were finished, the class shared their thoughts. Some admitted that they found the topic difficult because they had not really thought about it before and as I had some time left, I conducted an alternative planned activity (see Appendix 7), which the pupils found easier but I was not convinced that it benefitted my research and thus decided to avoid it in future case studies.

The plenary included a few feedback questions and most pupils declared that the liked the group work: one wrote that she liked discussing "the reasons why they do it and it's not just a certain race; [I also liked] hearing other views and about different kinds of terrorism (P10)". However, there were a few odd comments, with one pupil stating that he thought "police brutality needs stepping up (P07)".

Session 2

Group Discussion

The next data collection session with Group A was two weeks later with 8 volunteers, 3 boys and 5 girls. I began by asking what they remembered from the previous session; G1 remembered discussing "what terrorism was… I thought it was one person or a group doing an act that was causing fear or a threat. Like they could do it again". G2 added that she remembered discussing "why we thought people did it... that they were getting a point across with their religious beliefs", although she couldn't remember the exact religious beliefs discussed.

The pupils then paired themselves to discuss activity 1 (see Appendix 6). The majority of words therein were taken from the starter activity in session 1, but I deliberately included “religion” due to my research questions. One pair chose “religion” as the key word, stating that “it’s their opinion or their point of view to act (G2)”; another group chose “devastation” and the final two pairs put “sending a message” because “it’s always got a reason behind it (G4)”. For the least descriptive word, two pairs put “war” because terrorism is “just one group doing something (G1)”. Another pair put “sending a message” and the final pair put “political” because “people create a bomb and put it in a building, that's not very political (B3)”; however his partner thought that political should maybe go higher because “it depends on where they bomb… some people tried to bomb the parliament house thing and that’s kind of political (G3)”.

After the discussion, I focussed on the example mentioned by G3, 9/11, and asked why that event was seen as an act of terrorism. G3 replied, “it’s the most devastating”. G1 added that it was because the attack happened in America, which is “really powerful, so when a big thing happens… it’s heard about everywhere”. G2 concurred, stating that it was the media who “keep reminding us about the whole situation”.

The pupils were also interested in the events surrounding Osama bin Laden's death, which led to an interesting ethical discussion about whether or not he should have been killed. G5 thought that “it’s like committing murder for murder… it’s not fair” but B3 disagreed, saying that “it wouldn't be very fair, because of the amount of people that he's killed from his acts, if he'd just been put in prison… I don't think that's much of a punishment”. All the pupils thought that the shooting of bin Laden's wife was more

questionable because “killing someone for something that they didn't do was pretty bad – it's murder” (B1).[16]

I then asked if they knew of any other terrorist groups or events; they had heard of the IRA, the KKK and the 7/7 London bombings. This led into a discussion about possible future terrorist attacks, with some pupils stating that the London Olympics would be targeted after “the death of Osama bin Laden and… there's going to be loads of different races and people there (G2)”. B1 concurred, adding that such an attack could happen because “it’s all over the media… we've had all these threats”. The pupils also discussed Syria, where “the rebels are going against the government (B2)” because “the government is hurting people (G1)”. I questioned their views on the situation and whether they would categorise either side as “terrorists”. B2 thought that “they've both done bad things to each other so they're both terrorists in a way”, but G3 disagreed, saying that “I think that neither are terrorists… it’s not like they have religious reasons”.

The session concluded with a re-examination of the conclusions reached during the starter activity. One pair thought religion could be linked to terrorism because “it's a way of life (G1)”; two pairs discussed how mass murder was a better description because “people use it to get revenge (G3)”; but another pair thought that politics was not really associated with terrorism because “they put out rules… for how far you can go to do something (G4)”, “so it’s not like terrorism because it’s there to help people (G5)”.

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Author's note: Although there were some conflicting news stories at the time, later press releases stated that Osama bin Laden's wife was not killed in the raid on his compound

At the end, the participants asked who the new leader of al-Qaeda was and about the definition of "terrorism". G3 declared that "I'd say terrorism was hurting people", but G1 thought that "people just call each other terrorists just to make them sound worse… it automatically makes people dislike them". B3 added that "it brings to mind things like 9/11… they're trying to make it sound worse. Like, oh yeah, they're terrorists, they're brain-washed".

7.CS1.2.1c Notes on Methodological Alterations

CS1.A was the first time I had collected data from Year 9 pupils, thus I learnt a great deal from my interactions with the school and pupils. I consequently made a few methodological changes for later case studies: for example, I deliberately discussed the necessity for minimal input from the teacher before and during data collection events because I thought it may influence the results. Furthermore, although the main activities with pupils generally went well, I felt that the alternative picture activity needed be to avoided (if possible) in future case studies because it did not focus on the pupils' views but rather promoted a particular impression of terrorism, which may have affected the findings. I also decided to remove one question from the survey, where I asked the pupils' if they thought any computer games may have influenced their perceptions of terrorism, because the pupils considered the question irrelevant.

7.CS1.2.2 Group B

7.CS1.2.2a Teacher interview (T2)

T2 defined himself as a 26 year old, white, male, evangelical Christian teacher who taught RE, PHSE and GCSE Sociology. This interview took place after I had conducted the fieldwork with his pupils.

When asked about terrorism, T2 stated that it was “misunderstood… there's a lot of conceptions that they're all Islamic, they're all non-White, which is something that we work very hard to try and get rid of”: which reflected my findings from the interview with T1. Interestingly though, T2 had decided to conduct a lesson between my sessions with the pupils, where he discussed asylum seekers and refugees, because he felt it important to “break down some of the ideas that the kids have”. He added, “with things like terrorism… there's a lot of closed-mindedness with it”, because “terrorism” was to do with the “stereotypes… people of a certain race… men who go off to some foreign country to train to come and bomb us”. He thought that his pupils held similar views because “the problem we do have is that because this is a very white, middle-class area, there are a lot of kids who do use terms that they genuinely don't understand as being racist”.

With respect to previous lessons conducted on terrorism, T2 discussed the 9/11 memorial assembly, which had been followed by a lesson he had chosen to conduct on the conspiracy theories associated with 9/11, during which he showed the pupils a few www.youtube.com videos.

7.CS1.2.2b Pupil Data

Group B was a mixed ability PHSE group with 24 pupils: the majority had no religious affiliation and most were White British. One boy was sent out at the start due to “teenage difficulties (S01.T2)”; something I suspected happened frequently due to the pupil's reaction.

Overall, I felt that there were some noticeable differences between Group A and Group B. However, I had approached the session slightly differently – I introduced myself and decided not to reinforce the classroom rules, because I thought that doing so may have caused some pupils to not be as open in their responses. Other than the one difficult pupil at the start, I felt that the research event went well.

Session 1: ***Written activities***

Since the majority of written results are included in Chapter 5, they have been excluded from this overview. However, there were a few interesting comments relating to the pupils' linking of terrorism to religion, that proved useful for the research questions.

For example, in response to the starter sentence "I think terrorism is...", the majority of pupils associated it with violence. 8 pupils associated it with religion, with one stating that it had "something to do with religion or beliefs because that is the cause of many attacks which make the news (P13)". 2 pupils associated it with "black" people. For the question regarding terrorist motivations, religion was again considered the greatest motivation and money the least. One pupil thought that terrorism may have something to do with "the history of their religion or tribe (P18)".

Once the survey was complete, the class discussed their understanding of terrorism. In their plenary comments, all the pupils wrote something about their discussions, including how they thought terrorism was "bad" because "it causes damage (P22)". One pupil wrote "not every act of violence is an act of terrorism (P21)" and another wrote that "it's mostly about racism and beliefs which cause attacks (P13)".

Session 2: ***Group Discussion***

The discussion took place 2 weeks later, with 6 boys and 2 girls. I began by asking if they remembered the previous session and B6 said he had discussed "the riots" with his brother: "he said they did to for a reason… like if they keep raising the prices of university" (the UK student fees protests took place in November 2010).

For the first exercise, two groups put "sending a message" as the best description of terrorism because "I don't think that terrorism is just a random event… they want to show something, like what they believe in (B2)". The third group put "devastation" and the final group chose "religion" because "they believe they're doing the right thing by bombing certain places and it's like defending their religion… like extremists, they believe that if they do that then they're going to get into heaven (B5)". Two groups chose "war" as the worst description for terrorism, with one pupil saying that "war is when two countries fight... Terrorism is an act of violence against one country when one country isn't defending themselves (B4)".

On closer examination of the pupils' additional words, one group had written "extremism" because they thought that "religion has something to do with terrorism, but it's on the extreme (G1)" and "if it's for religious reasons, it'd be just like a minor act, but if it's an extremist then it's something a bit more (B1)". This led into a discussion about the motivations of terrorists, with B1 stating that he thought "most terrorists have been forced into a view". B6 thought that "animated videos on *youtube*… can make terrorism look like a joke… but there's hidden messages": which probably related to the lesson on conspiracy theories. However, B5 thought that computer games, such as *Call*

of Duty, could influence people because “there's a mission where you're in an airport and you shoot everybody… you play like a terrorist… they make it so easy to show you how to commit terrorism”.

I asked if that was an activity associated with terrorism, which some of the pupils agreed with, with one adding that bombs were also associated with terrorism: “they found bombs in the Olympic stadium under the seats (B1)”. He then discussed the increased security at airports and train stations as things associated with terrorism that affected everyday lives.

Finally the pupils re-examined their responses from activity 1. The first pair decided to move extremism higher than religion because “extremism is a step up from being religious (G1)” and “not everyone believes the same religion as the terrorists who are shown in the media (B1)”. They also decided to move politics higher up because “if it wasn't to do with politics then nothing would really happen (B1)”. The second pair also moved politics higher up because they thought it was closer to sending a message (B3). The third pair moved religion lower than violence because when “they're trying to send a message it’s through violence… like bomb attacks (B4)”.

At the end, B4 brought up conspiracy theories again, in particular how the Twin Towers collapsed. The pupils were aware of a www.youtube.com video that showed “an outline of the devil in the clouds [behind the Twin Towers] (G1)”. B6 thought that the “plane that crashed into the Pentagon” was another example because “some people say it was a missile from the government, but why would they bomb their own plane?”. B3 replied, “they wanted an excuse to get into Iraq and Afghanistan… to get their oil”.

7.CS1.3 Final Comments

Once both data sets had been collected, I discussed my findings with T1 and sent a written report to the school a few weeks later. Finally, I went through all the data gathered to see if there were any emerging ideas that required further investigation and analysis.

During the final discussion, T1 provided feedback on the research events and the data collected. He thought that the starter activity had worked well, but that a few survey questions needed clarification: other than the 1 question concerning computer games that was omitted from all other data sets, he suggested some minor alterations to help ensure a wider range of abilities were catered for. He also commented that he found the links some pupils made between terrorism, immigration and racism (during the classroom discussion) something that highlighted the wider issues he had experienced in the school.

7.CS1.3.1 Conclusion

This case study demonstrated how both the teachers and pupils made connections between religion and terrorism, but used words or phrases to try and distance those connections. For example, T1 used the term “stereotype” and T2 used “misconceptions”: the pupils in Group B similarly used different terminology (such as the word extremism) to suggest that those terrorists were a “step up (G1)” from other religious followers.

However, both teachers were concerned about what the pupils would discuss. For

example, T1 used the word “mend” and T2 said “fix” when discussing pupils' perceptions of minority groups. T1's noticeable silencing of discourse or change in conversation after this comment further highlighted his concerns. However, there was also a disparity between T1's level of openness when discussing racism in comparison to Islamophobia, which could demonstrate a heightened level of concern about the latter example of prejudice.

I suspected that this attitude was reflected in the results from CS1.A: although “religion” or “belief” were generally considered key motivations for terrorism, only one pupil wrote about a specific religion, Islam. On closer examination of the data, I felt that there were a few examples where pupils may have tried to avoid discussing Islam, including P10’s survey comment where she “couldn’t say” which group she associated with terrorism and G2’s “not remembering” the religion she had previously discussed. Perhaps this reflected T1’s disposition of concern, but it also may have demonstrated a sense of wariness in the pupils themselves about discussing such views. Furthermore, during the group discussion, the pupils' mentioned how certain stereotypes had arisen due to the media’s focus on 9/11 as a key example of terrorism.

T2 had a slightly different concern, as demonstrated by the session he conducted on immigration between the research events. Although I noticed a few comments on immigration, they were not overtly racist or prejudiced, but perhaps I had different experiences to the teacher. Interestingly, religion and Islam were mentioned more frequently by this group, which differed to Group A’s results, which may have reflected the different topics that concerned the teachers. Group B also discussed wider media influences, but focussed more on the jokes, www.youtube.com videos and conspiracy

theories associated with terrorism: things that had been discussed by T2 during a lesson.

CS1.B group discussion also highlighted further insights into the links pupils' made between terrorism and religion. For example, B5's comment that terrorist's "defend their religion", so that they can "go to heaven", suggested how religion in itself, as well as the specific beliefs in a religion, could be motivations for terrorist acts. However, the pupils differentiated "religion" from "extremism", with the latter being considered closer to terrorism, which again could reflect the attempted distancing between religion and terrorism.

Case Study 2

7.CS2.1 Overview

Although CS2 was in the most populated district in Warwickshire, it served a fairly small town, taking in many pupils from surrounding villages. The school was a mixed, 11-19, comprehensive school, with over 1750 pupils spread over 2 campuses. Most pupils came from White British backgrounds in a locality "where the socio-economic census data indicate highly favourable home backgrounds" (CS2 Ofsted Report, 2008). Ofsted graded CS2's overall effectiveness at 2 (good), but the school's anti-bullying policy stated that there were concerns about "bullying that is motivated by prejudice... for example racist, sexist and homophobic bullying".

CS2's website provided an overview of the main topics covered in Year 9. For example, in English, all pupils did "an exploration of writing from around the world, considering different cultures and beliefs". History pupils focussed on "Conflict, Cooperation and Peace" in the 20th Century: World War I and II, the Holocaust (which linked to Year 9 RE), and the world since 1945, including the Cold War and the rise of media. In Year 9, the RE department worked closely with PHSE and covered ethical issues such as the sanctity of life, abortion and euthanasia, as well as three major world religions: Christianity, Judaism and Islam.

During my initial meeting, I discussed the project with three RE/PHSE teachers, during which they discussed their strong community links. However, T3 mentioned a problem the school had with a group of boys who claimed to be BNP members,[17] which resulted in T1 (the head of PHSE) commenting on how the school had changed over recent

[17] The BNP or British National Party is a far-right political party that is anti-immigration and against a perceived Islamification of the UK

years. On reflection, this conversation may have affected access to the school, because despite the teachers' initial enthusiasm, access was limited to 2 gifted and talented classes, both of which were taught by the main gatekeeper (T1). However, I did manage to interview all 3 teachers, which gave me additional insights into the school.

T2, an evangelical Christian RE teacher, discussed lessons on "images of terrorism… stereotypes": she thought it important for the pupils to understand that "even images are biased". After the interview, she gave me an RE resource entitled, "Slippery Slope: The Islamisation of the UK" (Sookhdeo 2011). It had been published by the Barnabas Fund, a controversial charity that apparently helps "persecuted Christians", but the contents of the booklet appeared to be a rant against Islam. It would have been interesting to conduct research with one of her classes to see if these views had influenced the pupils, but the gatekeeper did not grant that access.

I conducted another interview with T3 after I had completed all my fieldwork with pupils. He stated that since he was the only Muslim teacher in the school, he wanted to have his voice heard. I began by asking him about his views on terrorism, to which he replied "Islam… it is really terrible, but the media has influenced me to think that other Muslims could have sinister intentions". We then discussed the pupils' views and T3 thought that they would have some "basic knowledge" about Islam, such as the greater and lesser *jihad*. He defined terrorism as "an act of violence that causes terror, which is committed unlawfully", which he thought the pupils would probably agree with. He added that they might know about the IRA, but thought they were more likely to state "Muslim", "beard" or "rucksack". T3 then asked me to switch off the recorder so he could give me examples of the prejudice he had experienced in the school, which gave

me a different insight into difficulties he had as a Muslim teacher in a predominantly white, middle-class school.

7.CS2.2 Results

My data collection at CS2 was conducted in June 2012 and took place with two gifted and talented RE/PHSE groups selected by T1 (one Year 9 and one Year 10 class). When I asked T1 about these choice, he replied that he thought my research showed the pupils how important the subject was and he wanted the pupils to see where studying RE could take them.

7.CS2.2.1 Teacher interview (T1)

T1, the Head of PHSE and a 32 year old, bearded, white male, called himself "an evangelical atheist", which involved allowing people to have a faith "providing they can justify it". His comment on religion demonstrated his personal beliefs: "I'm not biased, they're all daft!".

We initially discussed what ideas T1 associated with terrorism: he thought that it could be "religiously or politically motivated… because the people controlling it will be political and religion will be the means used to conduct it". We then discussed "the negative focus on Islam as opposed to the IRA", which he thought may be an "ideological warfare" because of America's "war on terror". He considered this particular phrase "ludicrous" because "it's a concept, the dark is frightening… it's so all-encompassing that it means that we've declared war on anything that we oppose". T1 also thought terrorism was associated with "poverty" because "in rich nations, people don't have a need to have such a strong belief in anything. I think that secularisation and

apathy is a gift for the wealthy and comfortable".

He thought that the pupils might relate Islam to terrorism, but may not see a negative focus: "it's not a conscious thing, but I think they just see Islam and [pause]... you know 'every Muslim goes bang'… it's our job to de-programme that". He gave an example of a Year 9 student who said that the answer to global poverty and rising sea levels would be to "kill the Muslims… because they're coming over here and taking all our jobs". T1 added that "they [the pupils] are not entirely sure what Islam is… If they grew up in Coventry or Birmingham it'd be familiar, but here… it's the first time they've come into contact with people who are not the same as themselves and there's a bit of fear". The pupils considered Coventry "rough… full of foreigners or the post-box women [in reference to the Muslim veil]". However, the pupils were not always aware that their comments might be considered racist and were "horrified" when they found out.

T1 also discussed an example of some pupils who were put in isolation because they wrote "Pakis" in a Sikh textbook, but after he explained that "Sikhs aren't going to be Pakistanis because Pakistanis are Muslim", that helped the pupils "understand what they were saying". I then asked about T3's comment concerning those pupils who had affiliated themselves with the BNP, to which T1 replied, "this is a funny town in that the vast majority of it is very affluent and the less well-off part of town is totally segregated, almost ghettoised", which was where those pupils had lived.

We then discussed other things that might influence the pupils' views and T1 thought that the pupils would not discuss the political side of terrorism, but rather see it as a computer game, like *Call of Duty* where "you're running round Afghanistan shooting

Muslims for fun". After this interview, I conducted further research into the game series and found that they it not focus on that type of warfare, so suspected that the pupils may have exaggerated what happened.

With respect to lessons relating to terrorism, T1 thought that the PHSE course on "stereotyping and empathy" in Year 7 could link into the topic and in Key Stage 4, there was a "direct focus on the media, the agenda behind the press". He thought it important to discuss these issues in school because "the pupils here are very kind, but they're at a disadvantage if they can't adapt and fit into society… We're trying to make them happy and well-rounded, and they're not well-rounded if they think that everyone who's Muslim explodes!"

7.CS2.2.2 Group A

Group A was a gifted and talented Year 10 class of 24 pupils: 15 girls and 9 boys. Most were aged 15, 6 pupils categorised themselves as religious and the majority were White British.

Session 1: *Comments*

For the starter activity, 6 pupils thought terrorism was committed for their "religion", "God" or "something you believe in"; P15 called it "martyr fulfilment". A few pupils chose to add an additional comment at the end of the survey; 3 pupils referred to the media's influence, for example, P02 stated "in English media only Islam groups are given bad reputations and this causes us to be prejudice as we're ignorant of everything else".

During the session, the pupils discussed particular terrorist groups, the reasons why attacks happen and the links between terrorism and religion. This was reflected in the plenary responses, where one pupil wrote “it’s an extremist act to achieve political recognition (P09)”. 2 pupils thought that terrorists may “do it to get into heaven (P01 and P10)” and P04 thought that they could do it to become “martyrs”. However, P02 commented that “people like the IRA, Norway murderer and many others aren't defined by religion”.

Session 2: *Group Discussion*

The group discussion took place a week later with 5 volunteers: 3 boys and 2 girls. I began by asking what they remembered discussing last time, to which B2 replied: “the former IRA member meeting the Queen”. B2 mentioned Anders Breivik, saying that “he was a sociopath… he didn't want Norway to be invaded by Muslims”. B1 thought that “he was a fan of al-Qaeda, of how al-Qaeda worked, but he didn't like Muslims at all… wasn't it a religious camp? Something to do with Islam?” G2 replied, “no, it was the children who wanted to be leaders”, adding that the attack was nothing like al-Qaeda because “he didn't commit suicide”.

The pupils then worked in two groups for the starter activity. The first group chose “sending a message” as the phrase most associated with terrorism, “because terrorists often want something to change (B1)”. I asked what message al-Qaeda was trying to send on 9/11, to which B1 replied, “that Americans were wrong”. G1 added, “they didn't like the idea that America had so much power”. The other group chose “religion”, “because it's usually to do with your beliefs (B2)”, in particular “Islam (G2)”, “the go-to religion for terrorism (B3)”.

The conversation then moved onto Osama bin Laden, with G2 discussing how another pupil in her class “was convinced that Osama bin Laden and Barack Obama are the same person… he used to think that the Illuminati are real too”. The pupils then discussed the nature of bin Laden's death, with B1 focussing on why they buried him at sea: “if he was put in a graveyard you'd see lots of terrorist activity near it”. Both girls questioned the morality of killing him; G2 thought that “he would have probably been more useful alive, they could have tortured him” and G1 added, “they shouldn't have murdered him because it doesn't make it right”. The boys brought the conversation back to the “gun fight in the compound (B2)”. However, B2 then stated “some people say that Osama bin Laden as a person never really existed.. [he was] an ego that they created”. G1 added, “it wasn't him who actually did the bombings, he just set it up and organised it”.

I then asked the pupils if they knew of any other recent terrorism-related stories, which moved the conversation onto the Arab Spring and the deaths of Saddam Hussein and Gaddafi, as well as the events in Syria, Tunisia and Egypt. However, G2 was a bit unsure about the methods used to gain democracy: “I know it's because they're doing it for the right reasons, because they don't like the person in power… but surely they're just ruining the country even more than if they'd just left it”. I asked the pupils if “the rebels (B2)” were terrorists, to which they all replied “no” because “they're fighting for their own freedom… its more of a war… terrorism is just one-sided (B3)”. B1 then drew parallels to another story about “Desmond Tutu… when it came to the new elections, didn't he start having people in the voting polls with machetes?”. However, since Desmond Tutu is better known for his role as a human rights activist, I was unsure

exactly who B1 was referring to.

Due to the pupils' knowledge of current events and high ability, I conducted an extension activity that focussed more on two specific words - “religion” and “politics”. Within the “religion” discussion, G2 stated that “it could be their interpretation of what God wants or they are so focussed on going into heaven (G2)”; B3 thought “they might be trying to create a *jihad*… or it could be to do with holy books”. The pupils who discussed “politics” focussed on “power”, with B2 saying that “terrorism is to stay in power, like if you were a dictator... you might set off bombs to scare people”. I asked him what difference he saw between a dictator and someone like bin Laden, to which he replied, “well, a dictator has rule and bin Laden didn't. He had power but wasn't an official leader”. B1 then spoke about some examples of actions taken by dictators, such as the Rwandan genocide and Nazi concentration camps, so I asked if he thought those could be categorised as acts of terrorism. He replied, “to be fair, terrorism is like sending a message – like we will do this again if you don't give up – but the Nazis were past all that… they were doing it for world domination”.

I then asked the groups to swap discussion sheets and add more ideas. For “religion”, B2 said “there's that thing in Islam about the greater *jihad*...”, but B1 interrupted, “the greater *jihad* is personal struggle, it's the lesser *jihad* that's actual war… but weren't Christians terrorists, back in the day?… Like the Crusades”. B3 replied, “didn't they [the Crusaders] get help from the Sikhs because they were insane ninja warriors… they covered their swords in excrement”. B2 then moved the conversation back to Islam, saying “I know *Allah* is the Muslim name for God… He is so powerful that if you saw Him, you would go insane”. B3 replied, “yeah, your mind would implode and you

wouldn't be able to deal with the awesome power", which resulted in laughter from the other pupils.

B2 then said: "it does seem convenient that all the Prophets came at a time when everyone who could see them is now dead" and B2 added, "that's how Christianity started off and Islam and Sikhism...". He also thought that Jesus could be called, "a cult leader", but not a terrorist, "because he doesn't rule by fear (B2)". However, B1 thought that the miracles attributed to Jesus may be called "witchcraft", but B2 thought that was "a bit outdated" and incorrect because witchcraft related to "women who were too intelligent… who would get burned at the stake".

B2 then asked why conspiracy theories about terrorism exist, to which I responded, "why do you think they exist?" B2 replied, "because people are scared, so they want to find a reason, a rationale… like if an American did it, they can relate to it, but if it's somebody who doesn't speak their language and doesn't think the same way, doesn't have the same beliefs, it can seem quite scary".

The group discussion concluded with the pupils returning to the initial word-association exercise. One group decided to include the word "extremism" because "not all religious people are extremists, but all extremists are religious (B1)"; G1 added, "that gives the whole religion a bad name… [but there's] always the underlying beliefs underneath it". They also chose to move political further down because, "thinking about al-Qaeda... it has elements of politics but it's more religious (B1)". The other group chose to swap the words "political" and "violence", putting the latter lower down, because "I don't think violence is the first cause of it, I think it's something that is brought along with it".

7.CS2.2.2 Group B

CS2.B was a gifted and talented Year 9 class, taught by T1, with 22 pupils: 7 boys and 15 girls. All pupils were aged 14 and most stated they had no religious background. 15 pupils saw themselves as "white British".

Session 1: *Comments*

For the key words associated with terrorism, 6 pupils said "extremism" and 3 said "religious". Some single pupil responses were: "Islamic suicide for Allah (P03)", "Arabs" (P22), "balaclava (P04)" and "death to the infidels (P07)". P22 stated "when I think of terrorism, I immediately think of Arabs or Muslims – I don't mean this in a racist way, but it is the main stereotype". All of the pupils remembered discussing terrorism in a previous RE/PHSE lesson, in relation to Islam and media stereotypes. In the final comments, some pupils wrote an additional sentence: one asked why people associate Muslims with terrorism (P04); and another stated, "I believe terrorists to be deluded individuals who cloud and taint the majorities beliefs (P03)".

Once the survey was completed, the class discussed their views of terrorism; they were particularly interested in cyber-terrorism and Internet hacking. This was reflected in their plenary statements where 11 pupils commented that terrorism did not just have to take a physical form and 6 gave the example of cyber-terrorism.

Session 2: *Group Discussion*

The group discussion took place 2 weeks later, with 4 volunteers, 2 boys and 2 girls. It began with G1 telling the group about a discussion she had with her father: "he's a

Church of England vicar and the thing that annoyed him most was the whole Ireland stuff, more than Islam… he didn't think they were true Christians". I asked her about his views on Muslims, to which she replied, "he doesn't believe in the Qur'an, he does say that it is part of what they believe in, to do that". However, she was unsure if she agreed with his views, "it does say 'fight in the name *Allah*', but...". She was unable to complete the sentence because we were interrupted by a teacher entering the room, asking about the research.

After the teacher left, the pupils went into 2 pairs and conducted the first activity. The first pair discussed putting "religion" or "extremism" at the top because "they say it's extremists and slightly weird people rather than political or devastation (G1)". They consequently chose to put "extremism" followed by "religion", because "just being religious doesn't mean that they have to be like that (G1)"; "most extremists are religious, rather than the other way round (B1)". The second pair chose "sending a message" at the top, but decided to put "political" over "religious" because "religion is a shade for the politics of it – it's a justification, so they're thinking 'oh we're Muslim, we're fighting for Allah' but it's actually because they're feeling unequal (G2)".

The pupils then discussed how terrorism was presented in the media. G1 stated that "I think we're far more scared than we should be… it's so rare, I just think it's all media… like the BBC show us stuff, 'oh the Iranians and the Pakistanis, they're all evil and we're fighting them'… it's like we've hated a race rather than an activity". B1 then discussed "when the jet fighter went past [over Coventry], they were allowed to go super-sonic and that set off the super-sonic explosion and everyone was making up these theories, and a lot of them related to terrorism". I asked why he thought people had considered it

an act of terrorism to which he replied, “they didn't know that it was anything else”. G1 added, “I think its nice to know that it was something. Ironically, it makes you feel secure… if you can put a label on something”.

They then discussed who would be categorised as a terrorist, to which B2 said “the few terrorists that do exist, the majority of them are Muslim, so we have that stereotype”. B1 asked “but 9/11… it wasn't Muslims was it?… it wasn't al-Qaeda?”. G1 replied, “yes, it was… bin Laden was told by the elders of the Islamic community not to do it, but he did it anyway”. B2 then mentioned that he had found bin Laden's death interesting, having watched “several re-constructions about it” because “I play a lot of computer games, so its nice to see how its done in the real world”. He was particularly fond of *Battlefield 3*, which was a “more realistic (B1)” game than *Call of Duty*; you play a soldier and “it's always USA versus Russia or England versus African rebels (B2)”. B1 added, “you're never a terrorist in those games”. When I asked about *Assassins Creed*, B1 saw that as a different type of game “because that was set a long time ago… it's not in people's lifetimes”.

I then asked the pupils if they had knowledge of other events: B2 thought Syria “was interesting… the rebels didn't want to live under a dictatorship”. G2 added, “I saw some news channel in Germany… and it showed a different point of view on it. Normally, we're thinking 'oh no, there are rebels and the population of that country is being oppressed' and they get in there and they had to be really careful – not of the government, but of the people… they're in just as much danger from the people as from the government”.

G1 then discussed Colonel Gaddafi, stating that it “was quite messed up… they murdered him... even though he was a horrible leader, I still question the morality”. B2 added, “there are worse things than killing”. I then asked if anyone in that situation could be categorised as a “terrorist”, to which B1 responded “no – that's a war, between government and civilians”. So I questioned the pupils further about what they thought the difference was between war and terrorism, and G1 thought that war was “less concerned with specific matters or religion and it's about public safety, it's broader and more effective”. She added, “with war, there are some elements of altruism, like sacrificial stuff that's more noble… like taking a bullet (G1)”, which differed to a terrorist suicide attack because the latter “kills others (G1)”.

The conversation then moved onto suicide attacks in more detail, with B2 discussing a film called *Advantage Point:* “people say, 'oh they must be brave' [to be a suicide bomber], but on the other hand you have the people sending them in, like sacrificing those people”. G1 had seen something similar in the TV show *Lost*, where a character had persuaded someone else to be a suicide bomber: “they had nice ideals, like they were doing it for *Allah*, but the people who were sending them in were really… calculated”. The pupils also mentioned other films, including *Inside Man* where a Sikh man was thought to be the terrorist because “he had a turban… [but] all the terrorists were white (B2)”. B2 discussed Four Lions, which B1 thought was “controversial… I'm sure I've seen clips from it in lessons” and G1 also mentioned “funny videos” on www.youtube.com, with B1 giving the example of someone shouting “Oh no, the Illuminati, we're all going to die!”.

They then discussed events closer to home, including a bomb scare on the M6 toll road,

where it transpired that a fake cigarette had given off smoke at the back of a bus. G2 found it quite funny because “if it was that they were trying to send a message, like 'I hate buses', I don't get that” and G1 asked, “was it an Islamic bomb? Because Birmingham's got quite a big Islamic population”. The pupils then discussed how in school you meet people with “different opinions (G1)” and B1 added, “I've got a few friends who are Muslim and it gets a bit awkward… we don't discuss terrorism because people think that I'm being racist to him”.

The discussion concluded with the pupils going back to the first activity and seeing if they wanted to change the ordering of their words. The first pair decided to change “religion” to “faith” because “it's broader… people generally do it because of what they believe in and what they believe in may not necessarily be a religion (G1)”. The second pair changed the top word to “spreading terror” because “its more like sending a message (B2)”. They also added the word “delusion” because “people get really misguided… it's a form of brainwashing (G2)”.

7.CS2.3 Conclusion

The teachers at CS2 approached my fieldwork in a noticeably different manner to CS1; they all stated that Islam was perceived as the religion associated with terrorism. However, their desire to demonstrate a sense of openness was hidden behind the attempt to qualify this view by stressing that it was the media that had influenced this stereotype. Furthermore, T1's choice of two gifted and talented classes suggested that there was an underlying element of concern about what the pupils may discuss. Furthermore, the results demonstrated that both Group A and Group B had related their perceptions of terrorism to the influence of the media: ideas that had also been raised by

the teachers.

Since CS2.A was a gifted and talented Year 10 class, I initially thought that the data gathered would be very different to other groups. However, although the pupils were more aware of current events, they still got confused about (or exaggerated) certain ideas. For example, one pupil stated that the Sikh *kirpan* would be covered in excrement and then used by Sikh "ninja warriors" during the Crusades (B3): ideas that not only demonstrate historical inaccuracy but also confusion over the nature (and purpose) of a Sikh sacred object.

Group A also discussed conspiracy theories and tried to bring comedy into the discussion, which perhaps demonstrated a need to find humour even in the most difficult of subject areas. Another interesting connection made by the pupils was between terrorism and fear: they did not just think fear was an expression of power but also that terrorism had created a sense of fear about the "other" - those with a different language or belief (B2). With respect to religion, the pupils discussed how heaven or the afterlife may motivate terrorists and connected this belief to the ideas of martyrdom and *jihad*. The differences between extremism and religion were also discussed.

Both groups discussed how terrorism was presented in the media; however after rereading the lesson plans T1 had given me, I noted that he had not included anything about the prejudices associated with terrorism or the "correct" language he was expecting the pupils to use. Therefore, the pupils may have simply had more information about the topic, rather than been told what (not) to say. Some interesting ideas raised by this group included the noises associated with terrorism (like explosions

or sonic booms); how computer games and films presented terrorism; as well as the impact discussions about terrorism had on their friendships.

Case Study 3

7.CS3.1 Overview

CS3 was in a highly populated, but deprived area, located close to the county boundary with Birmingham. The school itself served a large town and was oversubscribed since it was considered one of the better comprehensive schools in the district. Most pupils were from White British backgrounds and Ofsted graded the overall effectiveness of the school at 2 (good) (CS3 Ofsted Report 2009).

The main gatekeeper was the head of CPSHEE (Citizenship, Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education): however, she did not teach the subject herself, since it was taught by form tutors. I consequently interviewed three teachers at the school: the head of CPSHEE (T1) as well as the two classroom teachers, one PE specialist (T2) and one RE specialist (T3). The CPSHEE and RE departments worked independently from each other, which differed from other schools I had visited. At CS3, I also gathered additional data from the Warwickshire Police Prevent Team since they had been involved with the school prior to the research events taking place.

7.CS3.2 Results

My data collection at CS3 began in January 2012 with T1's interview. After this interview, I conducted some additional work with the Warwick Police Prevent team leader, before going back to the school and conducting my final teacher interviews and research with two CPSHEE groups. Due to time constraints, the group discussions took place with four pupils from each group, as opposed to two separate discussions.

7.CS3.2.1 Teacher Interviews

7.CS3.2.1a Head of CPSHEE Department (T1)

T1 categorised herself as a white, 37 year old, Christian (Church of England), who began her teaching career as a PE teacher. Her role was the CPSHEE curriculum leader, thus she composed the schemes of learning and lesson plans for all year groups, but did not teach any CPSHEE classes.

Her initial reaction to the word "terrorism" was bombs, horror and religion: she defined it as "a violent act against another person". She thought that the pupils would have similar ideas, but that they would know about 9/11 rather than the IRA. With respect to areas of the curriculum where terrorism might have been discussed (excluding the pupils' interactions with the Police Prevent team), T1 thought it might have come into the lessons surrounding Remembrance Day: "we use war poetry to try and get them [pupils] to empathise… with people who lost people in war; it's along the line of community cohesion, so how can we bring communities together? And how to stop anti-social behaviour, which could lead to terrorism or extremism".

With respect to community cohesion itself, T1 informed me that the RE department worked hard to enhance community links by inviting different faith leaders to the school and liaising with schools from different areas, including Birmingham, to encourage dialogue. T1 thought this was important because the local town "had a few instances with the BNP choosing to march here, which was a bit unsafe". A few pupils had been involved with the BNP, but T1 thought they had been "swept up in what's happening nationally".

7.CS3.2.1b Group A Classroom Tutor (T2)

T2 categorised herself as a white, 27 year old, Christian (Catholic), who had taught PE for 7 years. She defined terrorism as "spreading fear or violence in order to get a message across" and thought the pupils would write "bombs", "9/11" and "Muslims". However, she added "they might think Muslims but won't say that… even though it's quite true". She thought that their views would be influenced by the news and by the 9/11 anniversary lesson.

The conversation then moved onto her concerns about the pupils themselves: she had "one Muslim girl in the form, so am concerned if they [the other pupils] use... a stereotype or generalised opinion". She was particularly concerned about how the boys would respond: "girls will think about their answer… whereas boys will just say the first thing that comes into their heads, like 'suicide bomber'!" She thus requested if she could reiterate some classroom rules before the research event, so we discussed which rules would be useful and decided on: "listen to each other's views" and "put your hand up before you speak".

7.CS3.2.1c Group B Classroom Tutor (T3)

My interview with T3, a white, 30 year old, agnostic, RE teacher, took place after the first session with Group B. We primarily discussed the behavioural difficulties we had encountered with a few of the pupils: "this is a difficult group… some boys have serious behavioural problems and I was worried that some of their conversations were either inappropriate or just plain silly… they again showed their immaturity in dealing with difficult topics". The behavioural problems were not uncommon, but T3 did find it "challenging" when they "express very racist views". She felt that although discussing

difficult topics was “part of PHSE and RE… some pupils just cannot handle them and sometimes it's tough to know how to discuss it with them”.

7.CS3.2.2 Police (Prevent) Interactions with CS3

In addition to the information provided earlier on the Police Prevent work conducted in Warwickshire schools (see Chapter 5), CS3 provided additional insights into the reasons for, and the outcomes of, those interactions.

According to the Prevent team leader for Warwickshire and West Mercia Police (PT1), the town local to CS3 was the third most visited by the EDL. Although T1 stated that it had been the BNP rather than EDL who had visited the town, these groups do have similar basic beliefs, but EDL members typically exhibit more aggressive behaviour. PT1 felt that due to these local concerns, CS3 was an important school to visit. The team primarily worked with pupils in Years 10-12, thus they did not have any direct contact with the pupils involved in my research. However, some of the materials provided by PT1 were used as the basis for a lesson plan for Year 9 and although T2 did not conduct that lesson, T3 did and this led to some differences in the results.

During my interview with T3, we discussed her views of the Police Prevent team’s visit to CS3. Although she generally felt that the Police interactions with pupils were informative, she was concerned that the volume of information provided, as well as the activities conducted, may have been too complex for some pupils. She was also concerned that the materials did not have notes or advice accompanying them, which “could cause more harm than good” if a teacher was “unclear” about the content.

7.CS3.2.3 Pupil Data

7.CS3.2.3a Data Collection Notes

Group A was a mixed ability group of 27 pupils (with T2). The majority had no religious affiliation and 19 pupils described themselves as White English/British. Some additional comments from the written exercises included: “people doing something terrible for their point or religion (P8)” and “when people from different countries come and invade another country (P12)”. After the survey, the pupils mainly discussed terrorist attacks they had heard on the news and how it affected innocent people. They also discussed what motivated people to perform acts of terrorism.

Group B was a mixed-low ability group of 24 pupils (with T3). One pupil was sent out due to behavioural concerns. Most pupils categorised themselves as having “no religion” and 17 pupils described themselves as White English/British. The survey responses and class discussion primarily focussed on the criminality of terrorism and how anyone could become a terrorist: topics that were directly linked to the Prevent materials supplied to the school. Some additional comments about the links between religion and terrorism included: “stereotyped as only Muslims however it is all religions, e.g. the man in Norway was Christian (P10)” and “the killing of people for the beliefs of a religion (P17)”. One pupil wrote that terrorists are “people who have the same views as Hitler (P1)”. However, a few of the responses did reflect the concerns that T3 had about the group and demonstrated those pupils’ immaturity.

7.CS3.2.3b Group Discussion (groups A and B)

The group discussion took place two weeks later with 4 pupils from each group (a total of 8 pupils) and began with the pupils moving into pairs for the word association

exercise. One pair put revenge at the top, another bombs, the third devastation and the final pair put religion because "lots of disagreements are to do with religion (B3.A)". However, B3.B interrupted stating, "terrorism is not always religion or Muslims, because that's the stereotype". I asked why he thought the stereotype existed, to which he replied, "because they hide their face (B3.B)"; B3.A said "no, because of Osama bin Laden".

The discussion then moved onto different examples of terrorism. One pair discussed a shooting in America and how the culprit could be a terrorist because "he killed more than 1 person (B2.A)" and had "planned it (B1.A)". However, one girl questioned whether he was a "terrorist" or "mentally unstable (G2.A)"; G1.A replied, "how could you kill anyone in a sound state of mind?". B1.A then asked, "would Adolf Hitler be classed as a terrorist?… he was definitely a Nazi."

The pupils then discussed the differences between war and terrorism, arguing that World War II was either a "war (G1.A)" or "terrorism because he [Hitler] killed loads… and the Russian president, he could be classed as terrorist because like Hitler, he kills people for the sake of it (B1.B)". However, B3.B argued, "terrorism is like trying to strike fear into the hearts of people whereas war is one or two countries who disagree about something". B2.A agreed, "yeah, terrorism is just a few people against something whereas war is a statement… you know it's going to happen".

The pupils then discussed Kony and whether he was a terrorist or not: B3.B thought that "he was making a child army, brainwashing them, so I'd say he was a terrorist". G1.A compared him to Gaddafi and how he "brainwashed that man to do the Lockerbie

bombing". However, B1.B jumped back to an earlier comment about Vladimir Putin and asked whether he was "a terrorist and a Nazi?": he was convinced that Putin was linked to Nazism because he "has silenced guns". The boys then discussed the details of guns, before I interrupted and asked if they had heard of any other examples of terrorism. B2.B said that he knew of a shooting at a local cricket club; "it was gang-related and they killed the wrong person". B3.B then stated, "they're like terrorists coz they have the same views on killing people".

G1.B then asked if a nuclear attack was terrorism; B2.B replied, "isn't it North Korea? Didn't they set off a rocket… it could be terrorism if they hit someone". However, B2.A thought that "they were just trying to get attention". The boys again got side-tracked, discussing the possibility of World War III happening if a nuclear bomb exploded, so I interrupted and asked them to return to the word association exercise.

Two pairs moved sending a message closer to the top. Another pair kept religion at the top because "the Muslim and Sikh communities always have wars (B3.A)"; B1.A interrupted, "but every religion has war", to which B3.A replied, "yeah, ummm, I mean every religion has war". Another pupil then asked, "don't most of the terrorists come from different countries, they're not from here? (B2.A)": B3.B replied, "those 7/7 Muslims were from England… they got brainwashed at a youth club".

7.CS3.3 Conclusion

CS3 was a unique case study in the sense that the Police Prevent team had visited the school. Although the pupils involved in my research had not been directly involved in the Police visit, T1 used their materials for a Year 9 lesson plan, which did impact on the

results for Group B. For example, B3.B's comment that the 7/7 bombers had been involved in a youth club had similarities to how the Police presented their information.

With respect to the links made between religion and terrorism, T2 stated that she thought the pupils might think that Muslims were involved, but not necessarily say it. Some pupils did mention that connection but, as noticed during the group discussion, the pupils' silenced each other's discourse when they felt that an inappropriate comment had been made. The pupils also discussed the idea that Muslims were stereotyped as terrorists and raised an interesting idea that clothing (hiding one's face, B3.B) may affect those perceptions. This pupil also wrote “balaclava” in his written response, thus demonstrating the connection he made between this concept and terrorism. The pupils also made connections between terrorism and Hitler, which suggested that they were reminded of broader historical examples of extreme violence in their perceptions of terrorism.

Case Study 4

7.CS4.1 Overview

CS4 was in the same district as CS2, but served a much larger town and had a larger proportion of working age people (the district surrounding CS2 had more retired people). However, the crime rate was the third highest, with the local town described as a “problem area” (Warwickshire District Documents 2009).

According to CS4's most recent Ofsted report (March 2011), CS4 was a mixed, 11-19 community school, with approximated 1250 pupils from the large local town and surrounding areas. Overall, the demographic was similar to CS2, but with more pupils from minority backgrounds, in particular the Sikh community. The school's overall effectiveness was graded at 2 (good) and CS4's RE, Citizenship and PHSE curricula reflected the arts specialism, with the RE department including a unit on “Theatre for Learning” in Key Stage 3, which gave pupils “a drama and practical based teaching experience” (RE documents). The department also covered all six major world faiths in KS3 and KS4, as well as a secular world viewpoint.

All the staff in the PHSE/RE department wanted to take part in the project, but I only had time to conduct the fieldwork with two groups. The results herein will focus on that data, but the additional information collected from this case study did affect my perceptions of the findings. For example, T3, a Jewish teacher who had studied in Israel, stated that he thought the pupils were “very sheltered” from world events, so most of their information would come “from the media or from conversations they've had with friends or family”. Another teacher invited me to observe her lesson on Islamophobia, during which she discussed terrorism, in particular 9/11, the 1993 Oklahoma bombing

and the IRA, BNP and EDL. At the end of the lesson, one boy asked, “are most of them [Muslims] peaceful then?” and another replied “if a Muslim did an attack, they could be a sick person but people associate it with the whole race, which is unfair”. This gave me further insights into the pupils’ views of terrorism, and into how one teacher had approached the topic of Islamophobia with young people: she believed in open discussions.

7.CS4.2 Results

The results gathered from CS4 included two Year 9, mixed ability groups: Group A with the gatekeeper, T1, and Group B with a newly qualified RE/PHSE classroom teacher, T2. The case studies took place in June-July 2012.

7.CS4.2.1 Group A

7.CS4.2.1a Teacher interview (T1)

My main contact was T1, the head of RE/Citizenship/PHSE (these subjects were taught together): a 34 year old, white, male, Quaker, who graduated in theological studies. He was very proud of his department, in particular the diversity of teaching staff (which included a Quaker, an Evangelical Christian, a Sikh and a Jew) and the positive attitude pupils had towards the subject. We began by discussing bullying and racism and T1 commented that he had not had much experience of racist comments in the school, “until this week when I started showing 'Make Bradford British' [a channel 4 documentary]”; he thought that most pupils “didn't realise [their comments were] racist”. Overall, T1 was not concerned about the pupils' attitude towards minority groups, because incidents were dealt with quickly by senior management.

The curriculum areas that T1 thought may link to my studies included a 6 week course on tolerance and respect, which ended with a session on the Holocaust and anti-Semitism. If teachers had time, they could do a lesson on other types of prejudice, such as the lesson I observed on Islamophobia. T1 also thought the KS4 GCSE module on war, peace and justice, may touch on terrorism. However, he added that if terrorism came up in a lesson where traditional beliefs were being taught (he gave the example of Muslims visiting a mosque), then he would try not to engage in that discussion until a more "appropriate" lesson.

T1 described terrorism as "a reaction from an extremist viewpoint… a violent group or event, or even literature can be violent, but its purpose is to change ideas or ideology". He added the words "9/11", "rucksacks" and "Islam", as well as the groups "al-Qaeda", "Meibion Glyndŵr" (a 1980s Welsh nationalist movement that attacked English-owned holiday homes) and "the KKK in America". When I questioned him further about his inclusion of "Islam" he stated,

> "I've noticed that the word terrorism has made me instantly think of Islam and I feel that's wrong... I do feel that UK people feel distant from Islam, ummm, from terrorism, because I don't think that anyone in the UK has been directly affected by terrorism".

With respect to the pupils' views, T1 thought that they would say words like "Islam", "9/11" and "Osama bin Laden", but that "they might use derogatory terms, works like Paki or Muslims". He was also concerned that some pupils may see the topic as "something slightly funny" due to their age, but he was more worried about their

attitude towards immigrants, because “there were clearly some people [pupils] who thought that some individuals were not allowed to call themselves British, even though they were born in this country”.

7.CS4.2.1b Pupil Data

Group A was a mixed-low ability group of 22 pupils taught by T1: most had no religious background and saw themselves as “White British”. One pupil had a teaching assistant.

Session 1: ***Comments***

A number of pupils wrote “Muslims” (x4) and “religion” (x3) in their initial written responses; a further 2 wrote “Pakis”, one wrote “turban” and another, “foreigners”. A few pupils thought it was motivated by religion, with one pupil stating they are “extreme Muslims showing the Western world they think it’s unfair (P12)”. One pupil, who was a little worried about terrorism, said, “it could happen near where I live because I live near Coventry and that's been bombed before (P13)”. After the survey, the pupils went into small groups to discuss their ideas: one group of boys focussed on the different types of attack and weaponry used and another mixed group debated whether Martin Luther King Jr. could be categorised as a terrorist.

Session 2: ***Group Discussion***

The group discussion took place a week later with 4 boys and 4 girls. During the initial activity, the first pair put “mass murder” as the best description for terrorism because “they're killing lots of people… on purpose, with no meaning, no reason (G1)”. Another pair put “devastation” and the final two pairs put “religion”, “because it’s fuelled by religion, terrorist's feel its their duty… they take the Qur'an literally (G4)”.

However, the choices for worst descriptions of terrorism resulted in a heated discussion. Two pairs put “war” because “it’s not a fight, it’s just spontaneous (G2)”, but B2 interjected, “one of Obama's statements is 'war against terror'… some acts of terrorism have caused war”. G1 replied, “but terrorism alone isn't the cause of war”, which resulted in the pupils arguing about whether or not terrorism was war. I decided to bring the discussion back onto the activity by asking the remaining pairs for their chosen words. One pair put “propaganda” and the last pair had disagreed about their choice, with one wanting to put “political, because it’s not that important (B2)” and the other disagreed “because terrorism has governments behind it, like Pakistan, they weren't really caring that Osama bin Laden was in their country (B3)”.

However, G2 thought there was “a conspiracy” because “I don't think they found Osama bin Laden because they didn't show him”. She also thought that Colonel Gaddafi hadn't been killed because he had “seven look-a-likes so it could have been one of them”. This caused commotion amongst the pupils, with G4 saying, “they did show him in all the papers... and al-Qaeda themselves have admitted that Osama bin Laden is dead”. B3 added, “yeah and Colonel Gaddafi was shown being shot”.

The discussion then moved onto Osama bin Laden's death, in particular the photos and videos taken of him, which G3 thought had been done “for future history, when you're learning about it”. B1 thought that bin Laden had been buried at sea because an anagram of his name is “lob da man in sea”, to which G1 asked, “was that on purpose?”, resulting in some laughter. However, G4 interrupted, saying “if he's in the sea then no-one can dig up his body and… no one could have worshipped him”. One pupil asked

why they didn't burn him and I replied “to respect his religious beliefs”. B3 replied, “why should we care about his religious faith when he did all that?”. G3 answered, “they might fight back if they'd done something else”.

I then asked if they had heard of any other groups and G1 replied, the “KKK… the ones who dress in white and go and blow up crosses”. However, there was some confusion about the KKK, with G4 asking if they were linked to bin Laden, and G2 asking if they went into Iraq. B3 had heard of them and called them “an extremist racist group… against black people”, to which G4 replied, “why is it okay for black people to be racist against us?”. This was followed by another heated debate, so I interjected and asked them to speak one at a time. G1 used the opportunity to ask about the BNP and B2 said that they weren't like the KKK because “they don't go round killing people”.

I decided to move the conversation back onto Osama bin Laden, and asked if they knew about his religious connections. B1 thought he was Sikh, whereas G1 thought “they worship *Allah*” but was not sure which religion that was: G4 replied “Islam”. B1 then remembered that they had studied Islam in Year 7 and thought “it’s a peaceful religion as long as you don't take the Qur'an literally, because that’s when it gets a bit hairy… that's what the al-Qaeda did”. The pupils then discussed 9/11, with G1 commenting that “didn't they think that everyone wanted to die? Like heaven was best?” B3 added, “yeah, they were willing to kill themselves because they felt that they were doing something good”.

I asked them where they had heard about 9/11 and most pupils said “the media”, because “we're still in danger from it (B1)”. G2 thought that “the missiles on top of

some big towers for the Olympics" was an example of the UK government protecting people from the continuing threat. Other pupils also thought that terrorists might attack the Olympics "because there's a lot of people from lots of different countries there (G1)" and "we helped them [America] find Osama bin Laden… so they hate us (G2)". Perhaps "they think they're doing it for the greater good… like there's something in their religion (G1)".

The discussion then moved back to the word association exercise and some of the pairs changed the ordering of the words; one pair moved mass murder down and another pair agreed, stating that "it could just be killing one person (B4)". That group also moved "sending a message" to the top, "because the whole point of terrorism is to get their point of view across (B4)".

7.CS4.2.2 Group B

7.CS4.2.2a Teacher Interview (T2)

T2 was a 24 year old Sikh woman, who had recently completed her PGCE in RE. She began the discussion with her views on Islamophobia: there "is a lot of Islamophobia in the school – not because it's promoted but because there's nothing to counter-act it… because of the media, they [the pupils] make their presumptions... The Muslims in the school don't get that much of a voice… this school is predominantly mono-ethnic". However, she thought this was a "sensitive" issue because some of the pupils "think it's okay to be racist against Muslims because they're 'terrorists' or 'they've only themselves to blame'… some of the Sikh boys kept using the word "Paki", but now use "P4's" [to disguise what they're saying]… it's just not discussed [in the school] so subconsciously the pupils may just assume it's okay".

T2 described terrorism as “an act which is done under an assumption of somebody causing the same amount of tragedy unto you”. She used the words “extremism”, “religion”, “misinterpretation” and “war”. She thought that “every religion has extremists… I've homed in on Islamophobia because that's what's affecting this school… and I don't blame them [the pupils] because when you look at Western ideals, they don't exactly mesh with Muslim ideals. It’s almost automatic - those are the bad guys, they don't fit in”. She thought that the pupils would focus on things like “9/11”, “Osama bin Laden” and “the Taliban”, “all these things that they probably hear on the news”. She also mentioned “Hitler” because “we think about all these big bad people… the enemy”.

Despite being a Sikh, T2 felt that she had been the victim of Islamophobia. She gave the example of sitting on a bus after 7/7 and hearing two children chanting “Allahu Akbar” at her and her brother got called “Osama bin Laden” by someone in a carpark.

7.CS4.2.2b Pupil Data

Group B was a mixed-ability group of 27 pupils: most had no religious background and 16 pupils categorised themselves as “white British”.

Session 1: **Comments**

In the written activities, a few pupils wrote “racism”, 2 specifically stated “racism against Muslims” and one pupil stated that it was “mainly done by black people, so it makes people have bad views on black people (P26)”. With respect to links to religion, one pupil wrote “Islamophobia (P27)” and another “Islamic extremists (P21)”. One

stated that they "think that God has told them the things they should do (P12)", another that "terrorism is when religion is taken to extremes (P19)". Once the survey was completed, this group discussed the meaning of "terrorism" and how the associated activities impacted on people's lives. In the plenary, P16 (the only Muslim in the group) wrote, "there shouldn't be prejudice towards the people who are similar looking to the terrorists".

Session 2: **Group Discussion**

The group discussion took place a week later with 5 boys and 3 girls. During the first activity, the pupils worked in pairs: two groups thought terrorism was "sending a message", another chose "devastation" and the final pair put "religion" because "some of them say that God told them to do it (B3)".

The discussion briefly began with Gaddafi, before one pupil stated that they were worried about a potential attack at the Olympics. The pupils discussed how "the government was putting security on top of really tall buildings (B5)", "because there's a bomb plot (B2)". The "terrorists (B2)" may attack there "because it's a big outdoor area (B4)", with "lots of people watching (B1)". B5 then moved onto the "conspiracy theories on *youtube*" he had watched with regards to the Olympic "mascots representing the Illuminati". However, this caused an argument, with G1 declaring that it was "absolute nonsense". Due to the level of disagreement, I decided to question the pupils about their knowledge of 9/11.

B2 thought that 9/11 had been committed "by a group called al-Qaeda, which are Muslimist extremists and they plotted to crash the planes into the twin towers…

[because] they were jealous of their trade and wealth". B3 added, "they abused their holy book". G1 said "afterwards there were still bombings going on, like on buses, so people were fleeing in buses and there were people on the buses from that group [al-Qaeda] who were like blowing people up". I then asked where they had heard about 9/11. G2 replied, "it's because a lot of people talk about it, it's a bit like the World War and stuff – instead of forgetting about it, you need to make sure that it doesn't happen again".

After this discussion, the pupils went back into their pairs to examine their initial responses. One pair changed their own word "assassinations" to "conflict" because "assassination comes under mass murder… and the word conflict is a better description (B3)". Another group changed mass murder to political "because we thought that some terrorism had been done by governments (B1)".

7.CS4.3 Conclusion

The teachers in CS4 wanted to demonstrate openness about discussing terrorism, but, unlike CS2, they did not restrict the research events and wanted feedback on the approaches they used in lessons.

The teachers felt that pupils did not know enough about Islam and this may have affected their views of the religion. T1's change in wording was particularly informative: he initially stated that there was a feeling of distance from Islam, which changed to a feeling of distance from terrorist attacks. He also discussed how the pupils' perceptions of Islam may have been different if they had more contact with the other communities, such as those in Coventry. T2 similarly felt that the pupils did not have

enough contact with minority groups, which is why she was concerned about Islamophobia in the school. She suggested that some pupils deliberately disguised their prejudiced views, to hide their true thoughts about Muslims or Pakistani people.

Group A also demonstrated how some pupils found the topic a bit confusing, as demonstrated by the links made between the KKK, Osama bin Laden and the events in Iraq. They were also unsure of the differences between Sikhism and Islam and linked some of their ideas to wider conspiracy theories on the topic. With respect to the religious links to terrorism, the pupils discussed how ideas of the afterlife could motivate terrorists; G4 also noted that religion may "fuel" terrorists and make them feel like it was their "duty" to act.

Group B similarly made some confusing links between terrorism and current events. However, perhaps it was the mixing of ideas that demonstrated how the pupils picked up on certain ideas and concepts in association with terrorism: the meshing of different stories into a different narrative not only made it more comprehensible to them, but also suggested some underlying concepts they associated with terrorism, which will require further investigation. This group also discussed conspiracy theories and mysterious groups, such as the Illuminati, which could demonstrate how terrorism is sometimes given an imagined quality.

Case Study 5

7.CS5.1 Overview

CS5 was in the same Warwickshire district as CS1, but as a single-sex grammar school, it had an 11+ examination from which the best candidates were selected to attend the school. Ofsted graded the school's overall effectiveness at 1 (outstanding) (CS5 Ofsted Report, 2006).

CS5's website provided an overview of each subject: for example the PHSE/Citizenship department stated that it "promotes respect for the process of law… respect for the ways of life, opinions and ideas different from the student's own". The Religion, Philosophy and Ethics department "provokes challenging questions", with all pupils beginning the GCSE course in Year 9.

Although I was unable to conduct any formal teachers interviews at CS5, they did informally discuss the curriculum and school. The main gatekeeper, T1 (head of PHSE and Citizenship), stated that Year 9 PHSE focussed on personal and sexual health, before moving onto career options. Therefore, he initially felt that the topic would be better suited to the RE curriculum, but after our conversation, he decided that it would link the research into human rights and social justice, which he would do after I completed my research. However, he requested that T2, the head of RE, discussed the research events with me because he wanted her to also provide support to the pupils. My discussion with T2 focussed on the aims of my research, in particular how she would link the research into the Year 9 curriculum (which covered Christianity and Islam), in particular the lessons conducted on *jihad*, but she stated that she would not cover those issues in RE lessons until after the research events.

7.CS5.2 Results

Since T1 wanted to give all Year 9 pupils the same opportunity to take part in the research, I collected data from all 3 groups in early 2013.

In general, the pupils wrote similar responses to the previous case studies, but there were a noticeable number of pupils who wrote religion, in particular *jihad*, in the first activity. Some pupils also provided a broader range of terrorist examples, including eco-terrorists, Catalonian independence, Sea Shepherds, Tamil Tigers and the assassination of John F. Kennedy, which could be a result of the extensive media outlets that the pupils engaged with.

7.CS5.2.1 Group A

Group A was a Year 9 group of 21 pupils. 8 pupils categorised themselves as religious and the majority wrote that they were "White British".

Session 1: *Comments*

Some of the comments made on religious links to terrorism included: "angry Muslims blowing things up (P14)"; "people that take religion too seriously (P04)"; and "Muslim extremists completing their idea of lesser *jihad* (P17)". Once the survey was completed, the pupils moved into groups of 4 to discuss their perceptions on terrorism. The groups primarily discussed cyber-terrorism and the links between religion and terrorism.

Session 2: *Discussion Group*

The group discussion took place two weeks later with 6 boys and began with the pupils dividing themselves into two groups for activity 1. The first group disagreed on whether

"sending a message" or "religion" should be at the top because "there are religious messages – they want people to join their religion (B2)". B1 added, "they think that other people aren't letting them practice their religion… that the Americans were in their country and that they're invading them, so they say '*jihad*, let's go kill them' (B1)". The second group agreed that religion should be at the top, "because most of them are religious (B4)" and "it's the cause of it (B5)". B4 added that, "they think everyone is believing the wrong thing and they want to convert them… like lesser *jihad*". Most pupils were unsure what *jihad* was, but B2 stated "lesser *jihad* is basically expanding your religion through war, but it's not seen as important as achieving inner peace".

The conversation moved onto the importance of 9/11 and some of the "iconic (B2)" imagery, such as the "falling man (B2)". B5 added, "that was America's strong point… it's the finance, the stock exchange". The pupils also discussed Osama bin Laden, in particular the reasons that he gave for the 9/11 attacks, for example B4 stated that it was because, "America's lost sight of their religion… like loads of people are atheists and I don't think he likes that".

The pupils then discussed other terrorist attacks, including Anders Breivik: B2 thought that he had been motivated by political reasons, but B3 thought he had mental health problems. They then discussed cyber-terrorism, however their description of this concept demonstrated their confusion about what it entailed. For example, B3 commented on www.youtube.com videos about "an execution" and "a bunch of kids just trying to be cool but then they were actually contacted by a terrorist group". B6 thought that cyber-terrorism was "hacking into the Internet", but he felt that "it makes it

sound worse by using the word terrorism". The pupils also discussed a "girl who got shot… for promoting her ideas on girls being able to go to school (B6)", which I presumed was a reference to Malala Yousafzai, who got shot in Afghanistan for wanting girls to receive an education. B2 thought that the reason was because "they're really against women's rights", that they believed in "male supremacy (B4)". However, B5 questioned whether that was classed as terrorism because "she's just one of the people who speaks out, but if someone killed the president or someone like that, that'd be classed as terrorism because he's such a big figure".

Finally, the pupils returned to the word association exercise. The first group moved "lesser *jihad* further down because it's a stereotype – not all terrorists are Muslims (B2)" and the second group moved war slightly higher.

7.CS5.2.2 Group B

Group B consisted of 21 pupils, 7 considered themselves as having a religious background and 18 categorised themselves as "white British".

Session 1: *Comments*

Some interesting comments from the written data included how terrorism was: "certain extremists who see other religions as a threat (P21)" or "an act of killing or destruction in any way for religious or personal beliefs (P1)". Once the survey was completed, the pupils moved into groups to discuss their views – they were particularly interested in the links made between religion and terrorism. One pupil strongly felt that Muslims had been unfairly stereotyped, so discussed why such a stereotype might exist and what could be done to counter such ideas.

Session 2: *Discussion Group*

The group discussion took place two weeks with 6 boys and began with one pupil discussing a documentary he had seen on Osama bin Laden, called *Shoot to Kill* (Channel 4). B4 then asked if Abu Hamza was a terrorist, to which B2 replied "no, he's one of those radical preachers", which differed to terrorists because preachers simply "express their views and make people want to do terrorism (B4)". However, B3 then stated "but bin Laden didn't actually do anything himself… he was the mastermind behind the ideas – so he's called a terrorist even though he didn't do anything".

The group then moved onto the word association exercise; during their initial paired discussion, the recorder picked up on an interesting conversation:

B1: Look, its Muslims because you think of bin Laden and al-Qaeda

B2: But it's not just Muslims, that's really stereotypical!

B1: What about turbans?

B3: Turbans? That's ridiculously stereotypical!

This group decided that mass murder was the best description for terrorism because it's "the best way to get your point across (B3)". They did not put religion at the top because B2 thought that "just because someone's a certain religion, that doesn't make them a terrorist". B1 added that he thought religion needed to be higher than politics though because "people allow religion to influence their politics, their ideologies and the way they act". Interestingly, they added the word "Muslims" but placed it at the bottom because "people stereotype terrorism with just Muslims, so we put it at the bottom because it's not just Muslims (B2)".

The second group put violence at the top because "you're seeing it, the audience, as terrible (B3)". However, they did not think it was religious because religion was associated with other things, such as "Jesus – he just changed water into wine (B5)". I then asked if they had heard the story of Jesus in the temple and two pupils remembered that "the Pharisees were selling stuff, but it was supposed to be God's home and Jesus had a massive rant and turned over loads of tables (B2)". B6 added, "that shows him in a different light, because when you think of Jesus, you think of a calm man... but when you hear that story, he doesn't really set an example".

The conversation then moved onto war and B4 stated that "it's a tactic, people could use terrorism to get a psychological edge over the enemy." However, B1 disagreed, stating that "the thing that makes 9/11 sad is that it was innocent people… who didn't actually do anything apart from not follow the same religion". I asked him why he thought they did it, to which he replied "because they think that if you die for your own religion, you'll go to the Muslim heaven (B1)". B4 interrupted, "yeah, 72 virgins!", which resulted in some laughter.

The conversation then moved back to the similarities and differences between war and terrorism: B1 stated, "a terrorist is somebody who fights to kill people, whereas the soldier fights to stop the terrorists". B4 thought that "soldiers and terrorists have different ideologies… the difficulty is actually differentiating which ideology is actually better… both sides obviously want peace, it's just which side actually comes out triumphant in the end".

The pupils then discussed alternative examples of terrorism, in particular Anders

Breivik and whether his attacks were political or racist – and whether that could be called terrorism. B1 then asked if it was important for him to have been categorised as mentally stable, to which B2 replied, "it was all planned and he showed no remorse… so he could be put in jail instead of a psychiatric hospital". B1 then asked, "what about the joker in *Batman*, could he be called a terrorist?" To which B4 replied, "his intention wasn't to cause terror, it was to cause anarchy".

Finally, the pupils returned to the initial word exercise. B2 reiterated his dislike for the "Muslim stereotype", to which B1 replied, "but some of them are!". The second group moved devastation further up because of the "aftermath" of an attack. B4 added, "this is going to sound quite sociopathic, but more people die of cancer than they do of terrorism and if you count the amount of money spent on 'wars on terrorism' done by George Bush and put that money into cancer, then you could save more lives".

7.CS5.2.3 Group C

Group C consisted of 14 Year 9 pupils, 7 had a religious background (Christianity) and 12 categorised themselves as "white British".

Session 1: *Comments*

Some interesting comments from Group C included terrorism as: "an act of violent protest when extremists over religion or race often involving violence and fear (and videos) (P3)"; and "people going against countries or people or things for religion (P7)". The session concluded with a discussion about why certain groups were categorised as terrorists, when others were not. The pupils were particularly interested in how the media presented certain events, such as 9/11, the shoe bomber and the war in

Syria. They also questioned when and why the word "terrorism" was used to describe an event.

Session 2: ***Discussion Group***

A total of 6 pupils volunteered for the discussion group, which began with a brief discussion about the recent events in Syria, with most pupils asking about the differences between a "rebel" and a "terrorist"; "civil war" and "terrorism". B1 commented that "the government is trying to terrorise them [the rebels] into giving up by using things like air strikes, so I guess that could be called terrorism". B4 disagreed, saying that "it's more of a civil war".

The group then moved onto the first activity. B1, B2 and B3 put intimidation at the top because "it's getting people to do what they want them to do". They put religion quite low down because "that doesn't apply to all terrorist groups… like the IRA". B3 then asked what martyrdom was, to which B1 replied "a suicide attack". I asked if he thought they were the same thing, to which he replied "martyrdom is a lot more 'I believe in it so strongly that I'm going to do it'". B3 interjected, "suicide attacks almost seem to be planned… its more mental, whereas martyrdom is more feelings and heart".

The second group felt that religion and politics needed to be put together because they were "equal reasons (B4)". B3 disagreed, stating that religious terrorism "was more common". This resulted in a detailed discussion about motivations, with B5 arguing that "although they might be saying they're doing it for their religion or political reason, generally it's because they hate the other people who they do it against". B4 added, "also, a lot of terrorist groups are groups against a religion, not for a religion… like the

Nazis or the KKK". B5 agreed, saying "the Nazis wanted to get rid of all the Jews and homosexuals and things like that, so its more attacking somebody rather than doing it for your religion".

I then asked if the Nazis from World War II were terrorists; B3 replied "they're a terrorist group for political reasons". B2 thought they "had a terrorist form" but B1 disagreed. B4 thought that there were two different descriptions for the Nazis: those who fought in the war, who were not terrorists, but then those who were involved in the "mass, random killings", which was more like terrorism. Therefore, he saw war as different because "war is usually two sides, whereas terrorism is usually a certain group attacking… the victims can't do stuff, they're helpless (B4)". The pupils then discussed 9/11 and how that was an act of terrorism because those victims also could not stop the events from happening. B6 stated, "I think it's stupid how they always go on about how bad it [9/11] was, but at the same time America's nuked Japan twice… it was almost like a war crime".

The pupils then discussed the legality of the war in Iraq, with B6 stating that the reason for war was "oil". B1 then compared the death of Saddam Hussein with the deaths of Osama bin Laden and Hitler because they were all found in hiding. I asked if they knew what Osama bin Laden had believed, to which B4 replied, "lesser *jihad*". B5 then compared his beliefs with a story he had heard about "an Orthodox Church in Russia and the priest there told everyone that God wanted everyone to live underground for the rest of their lives… it's an extreme ideology". Other pupils interjected with other stories, including Anders Breivik, a school shooting in America and the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

I asked the pupils what they knew about the last example and B6 replied, “it’s basically Jewish people versus Islam”. B1 added, “I know they dropped some bombs that were really horrible – ages ago, in Chemistry, we had to research an element and I looked at phosphorous and they dropped these white phosphorous bombs”, at which point B4 interrupted, “don’t they both want Jerusalem? They both say that its rightfully ours, its our home-place”. B6 added, “they [the Palestinians] launch missiles into Tel Aviv… and they [the Israelis] keep raiding them – they’re both shooting at each other”. The conversation continued until the end of the session.

7.CS5.3 Conclusion

The pupils at CS5 primarily discussed the difficulties they had with the terminology. All groups questioned what the word “terrorism” meant and how the concept differed to other phrases, such as “civil war” or “rebellion”. They also discussed the connections between religion and terrorism in greater detail than previous case studies, in particular the Islamic concept of *jihad*.

The level of knowledge about 9/11 expressed by pupils in Group A was unusual, in particular the notion that Osama bin Laden had thought that the USA had lost sight of it's religion and that was why he orchestrated the attacks (B4). B4 also discussed how some terrorists may act because they felt that they had lost everything and thus wanted to commit revenge: ideas that I suspect had been discussed at home with him. With respect to wider religious links, the pupils suggested that religious people may act if they were either not allowed to practice their religion, or if they wanted to convert people.

Group B discussed more typical topics, including how terrorists were stereotyped as Muslims or those with “turbans (B1)”. They also discussed how the notion of an afterlife may motivate terrorists, with B4 stating that the Islamic afterlife included 72 virgins. This was a topic that I had experienced before, but with older pupils. Group B also brought up the idea that terrorism had to be witnessed by innocent people, that there was a psychological element to terrorism that affected how an event was perceived.

The final group was particularly interested in terminology: whether religion or politics was the primary motivator for terrorism and on the differences between religion and extremism. Although their language was more articulate than previous case studies, they still had similar views to pupils in other case studies, particularly in relation to whether the Nazis could be called terrorists or not. B4's idea that mass killing made them terrorists was similar to previous results on the topic. Group C also noted that the victims of terrorism were generally perceived as innocent, which made terrorist attacks different to war.

Case Study 6

7.CS6.1 Overview

Case Study 6 was in a white, middle-class district of Warwickshire: pupils tended to do well in examinations with 68% achieving 5 or more A*- C GCSE grades in 2009, which were the third highest scores in Warwickshire (Warwickshire District Documents 2009). The school, like CS5, was a single-sex grammar school, that took candidates based on the 11+ examination. The vast majority of pupils were White British and Ofsted graded its overall effectiveness as 1.

Due to a recent change in PHSE staff, the school decided that I should conduct my research with the RE department. Although this meant that I was unable to gather detailed information about PHSE, the RE department provided useful insights into the school and the RE curriculum. For example, in Year 9, the pupils begin the year by studying “Buddhism as a living Religion”, before moving onto “Religion and Science” and finally on “Islam’s contribution to the Western World”. Although the head of RE (T1) categorised himself as an atheist, he felt that his Turkish Sufi Islamic background had inspired him to try and approach the teaching of Islam in a “very positive and productive manner”.

I was unable to conduct a formal interview with T1 due to time constraints, but we did have informal discussions before and after the research sessions. Most of our conversations revolved around his interesting personal history and his perceptions of how the media portrayed the Middle East. With respect to the pupils' perceptions, he stated that “terrorism had not been discussed with any of his groups” and that the pupils “may struggle” with the topic. He thought that most of their information may have come

from the “questionable” BBC news or from their parents.

7.CS6.2 Results

7.CS6.2.1 Group A

The data collection events took place in late January 2013, with one Year 9 class of 19 pupils, all aged between 13-14. The majority stated that they had no religion, 4 pupils categorised themselves as Christian and 15 pupils wrote that they were White British.

Session 1: ***Comments***

The majority of written results were similar to previous case studies, although some pupils wrote different terrorist activities, including anthrax attacks and air-raids. The majority of pupils considered religion to be the most motivating factor for terrorism, and money to be the least. Once the survey was completed, the pupils moved into groups to discuss their perceptions on terrorism. The pupils generally discussed the ethical issues surrounding terrorist attacks and its effects on innocent people and their families.

Session 2: ***Discussion Group***

The group discussion took place a few weeks later with 6 girls and began with a recent US school shooting, with one girl stating that she thought mental health problems caused someone to behave in that way (G4). The pupils then divided themselves into two groups for activity 1; the first group put religion at the top “because it’s normally people who are quite strongly into their religion (G1)”. G3 added, “we also put sending a message [near the top] because they want to get their point across to a certain person or country”. They put devastation at the bottom because “they don’t feel the devastation

when it's actually happening… but afterwards they realise how much damage is done (G1)".

The second group put mass murder and violence at the top because that was what instantly came to mind, and "religion, politics and racism would be the reasons why (G6)" and were thus put lower down. G4 added, "I think racism is really the main reason why people act – like the man who went to the camp on that island". G1 asked, "wasn't it a religious camp though?"; the other pupils were unsure. G6 then asked about 9/11 and whether that happened for religious reasons. However, the other pupils knowledge of the event was quite limited, so I was directly asked what had happened. I told them that a group called al-Qaeda had flown planes into the Twin Towers, the Pentagon and a final one had crashed into a field, although it could have been aiming for the White House or another important American landmark. G4 then asked if it was meant to try and convert people, but I decided to move the conversation on and asked them if they had heard of any other attacks.

G1 had heard of 7/7, where "two guys were on a bus in London and then the underground was targeted"; G3 brought up the shooting in America again stating that it had upset her because "there was one lady who hid the children and told them to act dead". G5 changed the topic to the riots in London, but G4 thought that was not a terrorist incident because "the kids just decided to join in, just for the sake of it". G5 agreed saying, "yeah, terrorists mean to do something, but with this, people just joined in because everyone else was just doing it". G1 added, "don't terrorists say that they've talked to God, like they've been told to do terrorism"; G3 responded "to us it's like they're using excuses, but to them it's their religion and that's how they believe they

should do things". G6 then stated, "it might be because someone is defending their religion, that they're defending their God".

The pupils then discussed the emotional reaction that people might have to terrorist attacks, in particular why "when you talk about terrorism to someone, they sort-of tense up… because they see that people went through pain… like when it happened in London, so many people lost family members and were really upset in the news… and I think that most people who have like lost a family member, they can feel [pause]… like they tense up because they can feel like the pain of somebody who's gone through it (G6)". At that point, I moved the conversation back to the word association exercise: one group chose to put sending a message higher because they associated terrorism with that more, and the other group moved politics and revenge.

7.CS6.3 Conclusion

These results differed to previous case studies because the pupils focussed more on the emotional and ethical impact of terrorist attacks. Although T1 thought that they would be influenced by the media and that may give them a biased perspective of terrorism, the pupils showed a high level of empathy for both the victims' and the terrorists' perspectives. For example, G3 commented that the terrorists' use of religion may seem like an "excuse to us" but to them it was "religion". The pupils also noted that terrorists might have strong religious beliefs and act on those beliefs because another person or country might disagree with their religion, which again demonstrated their attempt to try and understand why someone might commit acts of terrorism.

This group also discussed why people may find it so difficult to discuss terrorism: G6

noted that people may find connections between the people affected by terrorism and examples from their own lives, which could make it harder to discuss. Although G6 may have been talking from personal experience, this insight did provide a more empathic insight into the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

7.1 Final Comments

This chapter provided an overview of the data gathered from each case study: from this information, some key words and ideas emerged about the pupils' general perceptions of terrorism. These correlations in the data will be explored in depth during the following analysis chapters, which have been divided into three distinct areas: the language and discourse; the power-knowledge dynamics; and the network of comprehension. This will be followed by a reflective examination of the theoretical implications of the key findings from these analytical sections, referring back to Foucault to aid in the formulation of some generalisable conclusions about the data.

Chapter 8

Analysis (1): Examining Words, Language and Discourses

8.1 Introduction

As explained in Chapter 4, Foucault's theories on the nature of knowledge have been used as a basis for the analysis into those converging ideas divulged by the pupils, that provided answers to the initial research questions, in particular the connections made between religion and terrorism (Chapter 1). These findings have been divided into three sections: the language used; the power-knowledge dynamics uncovered; and the overall network of comprehension.

This first analytical section focuses on the language used by pupils, beginning with an overview of the key words (Foucault 2002:91), before exploring how those words were used within the written data and group discussions (Foucault 2002:297). Frequency counts from the written materials were initially used to highlight the potency of particular words or concepts that the pupils associated with terrorism. However, as Yin stated (Yin 2009:160), words with lower frequency counts should not be ignored, because if they were found in more than one case study (if there was a pattern to a word's use), that could demonstrate certain perceptions held by pupils. Furthermore, where a word or phrase was only found in one case study, it was not assumed that such ideas were unique to that school, but rather that such ideas resonated more within that particular case study, which could highlight a specific influence within that school. This analysis will be followed by a brief overview of those other data sources (the pictures and teacher comments) that support these findings. This analysis will then feed into the next stage of analysis, which explores the power-knowledge implications of the data.

8.2 Individual Words Associated with Terrorism

In the starter activity, the most noticeable single words found across all case studies included bombs or explosives and 9/11 or Twin Towers. The example of 9/11 was particularly important due to the number of pupils who added terms that could be associated with it – Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda.

With respect to the specific use of the word “religion”, the frequency count was lower, but it was found in all case studies and can thus be considered something that featured in the pupils' perceptions of terrorism. The strength of these connections was triangulated by the sentences used in the starter activity and during the group discussions, as well as by Q13 in the survey, where religion was considered the highest motivator of terrorism in all case studies. Some pupils used lexemes that could be considered similar to religion, including belief or faith, but the nuances of how and why these terms were used required further investigation.

The pupils occasionally used other words that demonstrated more specific perceptions of terrorism from within each case study. For example, in CS3, there was a noticeably higher number of pupils who wrote “bad/wrong/evil” (11 pupils) and this was also the only case study where pupils also wrote that terrorism was “illegal”, which could reflect a specific influence found within that case study (perhaps the Police interactions).

Alternative lexemes or “rival” concepts (Yin 2009:160) that required investigation included those terms used as alternative motivations for terrorism in the starter sentences: racism and politics. These concepts were also included in Q13, where racism in particular featured highly in the pupils' responses. Another word I selected for

investigation was war, because this was found in all group discussions (not in the written data), typically used in juxtaposition to terrorism (excluding those cases where the phrase “war on terror” was used), thus providing some useful insights into the pupils' general comprehension of terrorism.

8.3 Examining the Words in Context

Some of the key words discovered in the starter activity were used as the basis for a series of word tables, to determine how the word was understood, what was associated with it and what other ideas were brought to the fore when the words were used (see Chapter 4, Foucault 2002:74 and Yin 2009:156). For each case study, a word table was devised for the following: explosives (or bombs) and 9/11 (as terrorist activities that formed the pupils' basic knowledge); religion/religious, racism and politics (as the perceived motivations for terrorism). After I investigated the use of these words in each case study, I compared my findings from across all the written data and group discussions, to see if there were any general ideas raised by the pupils. In some examples, the word tables overlapped, which demonstrated how the concepts were connected.

8.3.1 Basic Knowledge Base

In the written data, the pupils suggested some awareness of particular events. This section will focus on the information provided in the written data and during the group discussions: later chapters will analyse the possible reasons for the remembrance of these examples.

8.3.1a Bombs and Explosives

Across all case studies, the pupils associated terrorism with bombs and explosives. When examined in the context of the written data, the word "bomb" was sometimes used in conjunction with "suicide", thus highlighting a specific type of attack. However, within the group discussions, the pupils rarely discussed this specific word association: they focussed more on *how* bombs were used in terrorist attacks. In four case studies, the pupils discussed how they were part of planned and secretive attacks, typically placed in locations that would blow up buildings and cause destruction. The association with secretive attacks was particularly important, with pupils in two group discussions noting that this was what made terrorist bombings different to the bombs used during war.

However, the linking of terrorism to bombs and explosives was contested in other group discussions. For example, in CS2, pupils suggested that bombs were not an adequate description for terrorism because they were just a "tool" (CS2B.B1) for the terrorists. Pupils in CS5 similarly discussed how bombs were part of what was used, which put people at risk and caused destruction, but the reasons associated with such attacks helped explained *why* bombs were used (CS5A.B2).

In the majority of group discussions, the pupils discussed the possible reasons for terrorist bombings. Pupils in CS1 argued that there may have been "no reason" (CSB.G2) or that "they believe they're doing the right thing" (CS1B.B3), whereas pupils in CS2 thought that bombs may happen due to conflict or disagreement, but that it could also be to stay in power or to scare people (CS2.B2). A few pupils in CS3 and CS4 associated bombs with "belief" and in CS3A, one pupil responded that they "may just

like it" (CS3A.G1).

8.3.1b Main Example: 9/11

In the starter activity, 9/11 was referenced by a large number of respondents, thus it could be considered the main example of terrorism known to the pupils. However, it was *how* the event was described in the group discussions that made it an interesting example. The pupils' language provided deeper insights into the general knowledge that pupils had about 9/11 and thus the wider power-knowledge influences at work within their perceptions of terrorism (as will be discussed later). For example, during the group discussions, some of the pupils associated 9/11 with al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden and were aware that it involved planes. In three case studies, the pupils also mentioned the association with Islam, by using the words "Muslim" (CS2, CS4 and CS5) and "*jihad*" (CS5A); although there was some discussion in CS2B about whether al-Qaeda were actually Muslims. Pupils in CS5 discussed 9/11 in the most detail, with some pupils associating it with words also used to describe bombs, including: suicide, secrecy and planned attack. One pupil also reported the "iconic images" (CS5A.B2) of 9/11, such as the man falling out of the building.

However, there were also examples of the pupils' lack of clarity about the specific details of the attacks. For example, in three case studies, some pupils thought that the attack had involved bombs exploding in the Twin Towers. Pupils in two case studies also discussed the war in Iraq being a direct consequence of 9/11. Pupils at CS1 and CS2 mentioned the conspiracy theories associated with 9/11, which highlighted some of the imagined connections associated with this example.

In some case studies, the pupils discussed why 9/11 was remembered as an example of terrorism, with the most common reason being that it was “just what you think of” (CS2A.G1). Pupils in CS4 specifically discussed its prominence in the media, so that “we can't forget it” (CS4B.G2), although they were unsure why it required remembrance. In general though, the pupils were more interested in discussing the reasons behind 9/11, which they thought included: sending a message; for religion; to go to heaven; to scare people; to encourage others to commit similar acts; and because “God told them to” (CS6.G1). The messages explored by the pupils ranged from not being “afraid to kill” (CS1A.B3) to the USA being “wrong” (CS2A.B1). One pupil in CS5A was particularly knowledgeable about the possible messages al-Qaeda were trying to send, which suggested that he had either researched or discussed 9/11 prior to the research events.

The connections made between 9/11 and religion were of particular interest, because it demonstrated how the most prominent example of terrorism known to the pupils was perceived as being related to religion. Perhaps this perception contributed to the prominence of religion in the pupils' recollections of terrorism, which will be discussed further in Chapter 10.

8.3.1c Other Examples

Although 9/11 was the most noticeable example, it was not the only one discussed. There were some unique examples in both the written data and the group discussions (such as Sea Pirates or the white phosphorous bombs dropped by Israel in 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict), but by cross-referencing the written data with the group discussions, I found some specific examples that resonated in the majority of case studies, which

demonstrated the general knowledge that existed in the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

After exploring how these examples were discussed, I concluded that they could be divided into four categories: historical, recent and hypothetical attacks, and conspiracy theories (see Chapter 10 for more details). The most prominent historical example was a broad association with Nazism. The examples that I categorised as recent to the research events were the attacks by Anders Breivik in Norway, cyber attacks, school shootings in America and the underpants bomber. The pupils also discussed hypothetical attacks, including the M6 toll road bomb scare, bombs being placed in the Olympic stadium and a more general threat of attacks from al-Qaeda or other groups. Their knowledge of conspiracy theories tended to be linked to the 9/11 attacks.

8.3.2 The Primary Motivator: Religion

Across all case studies, the data showed that religion featured highly in the pupils' general perceptions of terrorism. However, since there is no universal definition of religion, I was concerned that the pupils may have understood the concept in considerably different ways, which would have affected how they perceived its association with terrorism. Thus, the word tables were initially used to discover if there were any general concepts associated with religion. I discovered a range of terms that featured in two or more case studies, including: belief, faith, a way of life, God, religious books, rules and heaven. However, after closer examination of how and when these terms were used, I discovered that the word “belief” (in particular) was not only used in conjunction with religion, but also used on its own on a significant number of occasions, which required an additional level of analysis (see Chapter 8.3.2a). Overall though, the uncovered descriptions of religion demonstrated how the pupils generally

associated it more with Abrahamic religions (in particular Christianity and Islam), which was probably to be expected due to the religious heritage associated with the research locations. However, Sikhism was also discussed in two case studies (see Chapter 10.3), which did fit in with some of the broader terms used by the pupils to describe religion (such as God, religious books etc.), but which could also be attributed to the fact that it was one of the main minority religions found in the local area.

When the pupils associated religion with terrorism, they frequently stated that it was the main motivation, reason or cause for terrorism, with some pupils in CS1 categorising terrorism as an "act" of religion. However, in the CS2 and CS5 group discussions, some pupils discussed the idea that religion was not connected to terrorism, but was a "shade" (CS2B.G1) for the real causes, such as hatred or politics (CS5C.B2). Although these pupils were from higher ability groups, their discussions demonstrated that they had concerns about why and how religion was associated with terrorism. For example, in CS2, one pupil specifically wanted to change the term "religion" to "faith" because she thought that was "broader" (CS2B.G1), which demonstrated how she questioned the appropriateness of using the word "religion" within this context.

In addition to religion being considered a motivation for terrorism, the word tables highlighted a number of additional concepts, including: extremism; a desire to go to heaven; martyr fulfilment; defending or promoting a religious belief; doing it for God; stereotyping; and sending a message about the "correct" religion. The term extremism was particularly interesting because it was used to either demonstrate a specific element of, or a point of differentiation from, religion: again demonstrating the importance of terminology within the comprehension of religious associations to terrorism.

8.3.2a Terminology

How and when certain terminology was used was important in comprehending the specific nuances of the words associated with terrorism (Foucault 2002:59). Of particular importance were the similarities and differences made between the terms religion, belief and extremism, because these highlighted different language and power dynamics at work within the pupils' disclosed perceptions. These words were used both in conjunction with, and independently from, religion, which demonstrated an association with the concept, but also some subtle differences that required further investigation. The word “fundamentalism”, which was associated with terrorism in the literature review, was not typically used by the pupils.

In four case studies, the word “belief” was sometimes categorised as something “personal”, as belonging to an individual or a small group of individuals, that differed from other beliefs or a belief system. Interestingly, this differentiation was verified by a few responses to the additional motivation words requested after Q13, where some pupils chose to write “belief”, despite the word “religion” being provided. Furthermore, in most group discussions, the pupils demonstrated caution over using “religion”, with some pupils using “belief”, “strict belief” or “extremism” as alternative terms.

The term “extremism” was found in 5 case studies, and it was typically used to describe the terrorist's motivation as a strong form of religion. For example, in CS1B group discussion, the pupils discussed how a religious reason would make the act “minor” but if it was an extremist, then it was a “step up from religion” (CS1B.G2). In CS4B, the pupils discussed how terrorism was motivated by religion that was taken to extremes, and in CS2, the pupils discussed how “all extremists were religious, but not all religious

people are extremists" (CS2A.B1 and CS2B.B1). The pupils in CS5 also discussed what they understood by the term extremism, stating that it was related to religion, but took a stronger form and that terrorists would consider it right or pure (CS5B), with no tolerance for other beliefs or religions (CS5A), thus something that would make them more willing to fight.

These subtle differences in terminology demonstrated how "religion" was not always considered a clear motivator for terrorism. Some pupils used alternative words to differentiate the type of religious belief associated with terrorism from other forms of religion: the most noticeable differences were that terrorists had a more personal belief or a different interpretation of a religion, that could be categorised as extreme. As Juergensmeyer argued, these terminological differences isolated these problematic strands of a religion to a "deviant form of the species" (Juergensmeyer 2004:ix): a linguistical nuance that had seeped into the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

8.3.2b Specific Religions

Islam was the most commonly discussed religion. Some pupils simply described terrorists as "angry" (CS5A) or "extreme" Muslims (multiple case studies), but in most examples, Islam was linked to 9/11, either as the main motivation for the attack or as the religion of its perpetrators (al-Qaeda and/or Osama bin Laden). In CS2A and CS5A, the pupils discussed the Islamic concept of the lesser *jihad* as something that may have motivated terrorists to act and in CS5B, one pupil thought that the terrorists were motivated to become martyrs, to go to heaven and receive 72 virgins (CS5B.B4). Another idea raised by pupils in CS4A, was that Islam was a peaceful religion, "as long as you don't take the Qur'an too literally" (CS4A.B1).

However, in four case studies, the pupils questioned the association, describing it as a "stereotype" or as "Islamophobia". In CS2, the pupils discussed how Islam was the religion they thought of first, but that the media may have influenced this view, with one pupil arguing that the attacks of 9/11 were anti-capitalist rather than religiously motivated (CS2B.G2). In three case studies, the pupils discussed how the stereotype was wrong because terrorism was not only committed by Muslims, but also by people from other groups, such as the Neo-Nazis (CS3B).

Although alternative religions were rarely referenced, some pupils did discuss Christianity and Sikhism. Some pupils categorised Anders Breivik and the IRA as Christian terrorists, although other pupils questioned whether these associations were valid. In CS5B, the pupils used Christian stories, such as Jesus walking on water, as examples of how religion was not associated with terrorism. With respect to Sikhism, the turban was mentioned as something associated with terrorism in a few case studies. The discussion in CS2A was particularly interesting because the pupils questioned the use of the *kirpan* (Sikh ceremonial sword), with one pupil discussing how Sikh warriors were like "ninjas", who "covered their swords in excrement" during the Crusades (CS2A.B3) (see Chapter 10.3).

8.3.3 Alternative Motivations

In addition to religion being considered a motivator for terrorism, the pupils also discussed other motivations, in particular racism and politics. Although hatred and anger were also discussed, these terms were typically used in reference to another motivation, thus have been excluded from this overview. I have also excluded money / economic

reasons because this was considered the least motivating factor in the survey and was not mentioned in the group discussions.

8.3.3a Racism

For the purposes of this section, I have primarily focussed on where pupils used the word "racism" rather than on those comments that could be interpreted as racist. That is not to say that some pupils did not use language or phrases that were typically considered socially unacceptable: there were some examples of pupils who used the word "Paki" or who associated "immigrants" and "blacks" with terrorism. Furthermore, there were some difficulties with the terminology used, because some examples may fall under the category of general prejudice, rather than specifically against a race or ethnicity, thus some author discretion was used.

Where racism was referenced as a motivation for terrorism, it was either because terrorists had "no tolerance of other ethnicities" (CS5A.B2) or because they had "a racist background" (CS1A.B1). Pupils in four case studies thought that the terrorists hated a race and that was "the reason why people acted in that manner" (CS6.G4). Sometimes racism was referenced in connection with specific examples, such as Nazi Germany (in particular the concentration camps), the KKK and Anders Breivik.

However, some pupils discussed racism in a different manner: they were concerned about being perceived as racist themselves. For example, one pupil stated that he did not discuss terrorism with his Muslim friends because he was concerned that they might accuse him of being racist (CS2B.B2). CS2B.G1 thought that it was the presentation of terrorism "in the BBC" that affected how people perceived terrorism: she thought that

the news stated terrorists were Pakistani or Iranian people, “which was unfair because it was like we've hated a race rather than an activity or group of people”. However, it is difficult to know whether this was something she had actually heard on the news or whether it was how she perceived news stories about terrorism.

8.3.3b Politics

Another motivation discussed by the pupils was politics, however, it did not feature as highly as religion or racism, perhaps due to their limited knowledge of the subject. Some pupils thought that the location or nature of the attacks would make a terrorist attack more political – for example, if a parliament building was bombed (CS1A) or when a group used scare tactics that could influence the government or group in power (CS2A). Pupils in three case studies also thought that it could relate to a desire for power: dictators may use terrorist tactics to stay in power (CS2A) or other political groups may use it to gain power (CS5C). A few pupils also discussed the possibility that governments themselves committed acts of terrorism.

However, there was some disagreement about whether politics was really a motivator for terrorism. For example, pupils in CS1 discussed how politics gave people rules and restrictions (which could be paralleled to the legal definitions discussed in Chapter 3), that it was peaceful and thus not a motivator for terrorism. One pupil in CS6 thought that people did not strongly follow politics (as shown by low voter turn-out), thus it was probably not a motivator for terrorism (CS6.G2). Interestingly though, when examples were given by other pupils (such as Anders Breivik or the IRA), two discussion groups started to consider how politics may play a role in terrorism in more detail, and began questioning their initial interpretations of terrorism, thereby showing how the group

dynamics affected the nature and scope of the discussion.

8.3.4 Comparative Concept: War

War has been included in this analysis because it was frequently referenced in the group discussions in juxtaposition to terrorism: it was used to explain how the pupils perceived terrorism as a different, perhaps more unique, activity.

Across all case studies, war was described as an event between two opposing groups or countries, where it was agreed upon or had a statement from both sides: everyone knew that it was happening. In war, people were forced to fight for peace (CS1B.B3) or freedom (CS2A.B3), whereas terrorism was seen as a secretive "act of violence against one country that isn't defending itself" (CS1B.B4). Pupils in CS1 and CS2 discussed the differences in more detail, with one pupil commenting that war was "less concerned with religion and more with public safety" (CS2B.G1). Syria was used as an example of civil war, that could be categorised as "war" because it was "not for religious reasons" (CS1A.G3) Some pupils also thought that attacks in war were more accurate and "noble", involving "altruistic deaths" on a "battlefield" (CS2B.G1). The only similarities found between terrorism and war were that war had "a reason, like terrorism" (CS1A.G3) and that the events of 9/11 were constantly being remembered, like the World Wars (CS4B.G2).

In three case studies, the pupils discussed how acts of terrorism may cause war, for example 9/11 was seen as provoking the war in Iraq. The pupils in CS1A focussed on how war could be retaliation for terrorism; so the killing of Osama bin Laden was "revenge" for 9/11 (G4) – it was part of an "unspoken war" (B1). In CS6, the pupils

also thought that terrorism was related to revenge, but that 9/11 had happened in retaliation for the war in Afghanistan (CS6.G3), rather than the other way round. By comparison, the pupils in CS5 discussed how acts of terrorism could occur during war time, such as during World War II.

8.4 Picture Evidence

Although the pictures drawn by pupils did not typically include words, they contributed to the overall discourse concerning the ideas and examples held by the pupils, thereby supporting the written data (Spencer 2011:240). The most frequently drawn picture was of a plane flying near to, or crashing into, two towers, which I interpreted as something relating to 9/11. There were also a number of pictures of bombs, either being held by an individual or under clothing, although a few pupils also drew nuclear bombs (or mushroom clouds), which was an example only mentioned once in a group discussion (CS5C). A few pupils drew pictures of individuals, typically wearing balaclavas or turbans, which could relate to the perceived secretive nature of terrorism, or wider perceptions of the Islamic or Sikh religions (see Appendix 8).

8.5 Teacher Insights

On closer examination of the teacher comments concerning their views of the pupils' potential perceptions, there were some noticeable ideas that supported the findings from the pupil data. For example, all of the teachers thought that the pupils would use the word “religion” in reference to terrorism, which was discovered to be a correct assumption. Many of the teachers also used words similar to the pupils, including bombs, 9/11, Islam, extremism and stereotypes. Some teachers also thought that the pupils would refer to general images of the “enemy”, for example individuals such as

Osama bin Laden and Hitler, or groups such as al-Qaeda, the Nazis, the IRA and the KKK. These similarities in the data demonstrated that the teachers had either experienced or fed certain ideas to the pupils, which was then replicated in the data, thus confirming my interpretations of the findings.

However, there were some points of difference, for example most of the teachers were concerned that the pupils would exhibit more racist or prejudiced language, particularly in relation to immigrants, black people or Muslims, but their concerns were only noticed in a very limited manner within the data. The pupils instead tried to demonstrate a lack of prejudice, which may demonstrate the teacher's influence over the acceptable parameters of discourse. A few teachers also thought that the pupils would connect terrorism with war, but the pupils instead used war as a point of difference, to help explain those specific activities and motivations they associated with terrorism. These points of differences perhaps demonstrated some of the wider power-knowledge dynamics at work within the pupils' perceptions of data (see Chapters 9 and 10).

8.6 Conclusion

Through this examination of words, language and discourses, some key themes became apparent from the data. The frequency counts and word tables helped demonstrate the basic knowledge held by the pupils, as well some of the key terms and issues concerning terminology. Of particular interest were the connections made between religion and terrorism, with other terms such as belief and extremism sometimes being used to help explain how pupils understood the connections. The alternative motivations explored herein were racism and politics, which were primarily discussed in relation to the examples known to the pupils. This demonstrated the importance of prior

knowledge in the discussions about terrorism and also helped demonstrate the specific outward expressions of influential power-knowledge dynamics at work within the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

The pupils use of war as a comparative concept highlighted some additional perceptions of terrorism, in particular how it was generally considered more secretive in nature and less justifiable than war. Interestingly, terrorism was sometimes associated with more violent aspects of war, including the Holocaust in World War II, thereby demonstrating how terrorism was perceived as something more extreme than other acts of violence. The negativity associated with terrorism demonstrated the strength of the power-knowledge that affected the pupils' perceptions, as I will now explore.

Chapter 9

Analysis (2): Influential Power-Knowledge Processes

9.1 Introduction

In addition to the power-knowledge dynamics uncovered prior to the interactions with pupils (such as the protective duties of the gatekeepers, see Chapter 5) there were instances during and after the data collection events that could be attributed to the effects of this process. These were explored through those knowable facets of power-knowledge, namely the "dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques [and] functionings" (Foucault 1991:26) uncovered during the research events (see Chapter 2). These facets formed part of the "network" (Foucault 1991:26) of ideas, perceptions and processes by which certain power-knowledge dynamics were experienced and exercised over, and by, the research participants.

This section will begin with an examination of the pupil data to demonstrate how the initial disposition of concern reverberated throughout the research events. Once the gatekeepers felt that they had adequately fulfilled their protective duties to the pupils, the research with pupils could begin, but, as I discovered, the pupils themselves further demonstrated this element of the power-knowledge process at work. Their interactions and language demonstrated how they felt permitted or restricted to discuss certain topics; particularly within the group discussions, where they appeared to sometimes monitor the collective information disclosed to the researcher. This was not the perceived surveillance experienced with teachers in the pre-research events, but rather an active form of peer surveillance. Finally, I will examine the wider power-knowledge dynamics uncovered during the research events, including teacher and social influences,

and explore how these affected the results. These results will then feed into the next layer of analysis (Chapter 10) where both the language and power-knowledge analyses will be combined to ensure that the entire network of comprehension can be presented.

9.2 The Power-Knowledge Processes

According to Foucault, any divulged knowledge not only expressed the information known to participants, but also provided insights into "the processes and struggles" (Foucault 1991:28) that determined the formation and divulgence of that knowledge. By concentrating on the activity and influence of this power-knowledge within the data, we can begin to comprehend how it "is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated" (Foucault 1991:27). This section of the analysis will therefore not focus on the disclosed knowledge itself, but instead uses examples to demonstrate how the power-knowledge process functioned within the research (see research questions in Chapter 1).

9.2.1 Disposition of Concern

As discussed in Chapter 4, my role as a researcher with teaching experience meant that I used certain teacher-disciplinary techniques, which affected how the pupils responded and interacted with me during the research events. Exposing the effects of my influence over the data was challenging because many of my teaching idiosyncrasies had become internalised and thus subconsciously used throughout the research process. To overcome these difficulties, I used self-reflection in my research notes (during and after the data collection events), before examining the pupils' responses to my presence and language in more detail.

After comparing my research notes and pupil data (in particular the transcripts), I noticed that my observations primarily converged on elements of pupil behaviour: in particular their desire to be perceived as being 'good'. Even in the most challenging group (CS3.B), there were pupils who deliberately behaved and responded in a positive and polite manner in my presence. I concluded that perhaps this reflected the general mechanics of school discipline: the pupils had internalised how they should interact with adults (Cole 2008:108), thus the research process had already been affected by the normalised behavioural expectations of the school setting prior to my arrival (Foucault 1991:170). For example, during session 2 (which was conducted outside the classroom, without a teacher), some pupils still used interaction techniques that typified classroom behaviour, including hands-up when they wanted to speak or using an authoritative term when addressing me ("Miss"), despite knowing my name. I concluded that these interactions were similar to the disposition of concern experienced with the teachers, but that it had additional qualities that were exposed by the pupils' interactions: namely, the silencing of certain discourses and an active peer surveillance.

9.2.2 Silent and Silenced Discourses

When examining the behaviours of individual pupils, there were moments where they would deliberately make manoeuvres that silenced their thoughts and ideas. Although some examples may reflect "unconscious" aspects of knowledge (Foucault 2002:330) and unknown qualities of the internalised power-knowledge process (i.e. the "silent" discourses), there were some noticeable points when the discourses were actively silenced, either by the individual or by the group.

Mazzei's technique of listening and re-listening to the transcripts (Mazzei 2007) was

useful here, because it helped expose *who* had affected the silencing of information: on most occasions, I found that it was the individual who instigated self-censorship rather than other participants. Mazzei categorised these moments of silence into polite, privileged, veiled, intentional, and unintelligible silences (2007:84-87). Differentiating between these silences demonstrated the elements of power-knowledge at work within the disclosure of information. For example, most instances of hesitancy seemed to occur when individuals were concerned about the scope of their knowledge on a topic, which could be described as a veiled (when the participant responds to a different question or changes the topic, thereby disguising their response) or intentional silence (where one censors oneself, perhaps due to a fear of judgement). On other occasions, pupils would simply let their voice go quiet or hesitate and respond "I don't know", which could have been moments of polite silence (a hesitancy to speak for fear of offending someone or an attempt to avoid the censure of others) or unintelligible silence (an act of unintentional or indiscernible silence).

To see if there were any specific topics or ideas that caused pupils to deliberately silence their discourses, I also examined the locations of such examples in the transcripts. As my interactions with teachers demonstrated, discussing terrorism was considered a sensitive and controversial notion, thus I suspected that the pupils would have similar concerns, that could be exposed via these examples. If there were multiple cases where specific topics had caused a momentary silence, then certain aspects of the social power-knowledge process could be exposed.

On the individual level, I discovered that the pupils were similar to the teachers in their initial hesitancy about discussing terrorism in itself. However, once they overcame this

initial reaction, there were certain topics uncovered in the group discussions that caused many pupils across all case studies to hesitate or silence their discourse: religion and racism.

The hesitancy when pupils were questioned about, or began discussing, the relationship between religion and terrorism was by far the most noticeable topic that caused the silencing of discourses. Although I had experienced similar moments of hesitation from the teachers, the examples from pupils provided deeper insights into the specific nature of this power-knowledge process within their perceptions of terrorism. Some pupils deliberately omitted knowledge, for example, when multiple pupils were asked for a specific example of a religion they associated with terrorism, most replied “I can't remember” or “I don't know”, even when they had discussed a religion (typically Islam) with their peers in the previous session or earlier in that group discussion. In a few cases, pupils tried to suggest a specific religion without actually stating it, for example: “not everyone believes the same religion as the terrorists who are shown in the media (CS1B.B1)”. These attempts to omit or subvert the exposure of knowledge demonstrated that it was not simply the relationship between religion and terrorism that caused a disposition of concern, but rather a specific religion, Islam, that had heightened the pupils' awareness about what they could discuss.

Racism similarly caused some pupils to hesitate: in most examples, it was because the pupils did not want to be categorised as racist themselves and thus either changed certain words mid-speech or paused to consider how they could best explain their views. However, after re-listening to the transcripts, there were a few examples where explicit racist terminology was used, but only whilst other pupils were talking, presumably

because they thought I would not hear the comments. For example, in CS1A, two pupils described terrorists as “Pakis” and in CS4A, one pupil used the term “nigger”. I found these examples surprising since I had not heard them at the time and had presumed that the pupils did not use such language or had censored themselves during the research events. Perhaps therefore, the teachers' concerns about the pupils' potentially racist or prejudiced attitudes were more accurate than I had perceived during my limited time within the schools. My position as an external figure, the unknown authoritative adult, may have also contributed to the attempted silencing of such language: the pupils were aware that such words were socially unacceptable, but still tactically used them by altering their language or by hiding behind another's dialogic interactions. However, since these explicit examples of racist terminology were limited, I cannot say with certainty the extent to which actual racist beliefs were held by the pupils. Therefore, the only power-knowledge processes that were exposed by these interactions was that pupils associated terrorism with racist or prejudiced views and that they deemed exposing such views to be inappropriate (whether they held such views themselves or not), which in turn affected the language and discourse used during the data collection events.

9.2.3 Active Peer Surveillance

In my research notes, I noticed that the pupils' disposition of concern slightly differed to the teachers: they were not overly concerned about portraying the school in a 'good' light, but rather about how they would be perceived, either as individuals or in comparison to their peers, or even as an overall group. In my opinion, the pupils used certain manoeuvres and techniques, such as silencing or restricting their behaviour, language and interactive discourses, to ensure that more positive observations were

made about themselves or their peers.

Any silencing of discourses instigated by other pupils, not by the individual, could be attributed to the power-knowledge processes at work within the pupils' collective consciousness. Although some moments could be examples of the social dynamics within that specific group, if multiple silenced moments were uncovered across the case studies, perhaps during specific topics of conversation, it could expose some of the wider underlying or "hidden" social forces that affected the general scope of information collected from pupils. As Foucault noted, "although surveillance rests on individuals, its functioning is that of a network of relations from top to bottom [from the teachers]... and laterally [from other pupils]" (Foucault 1991:176-177). Examining these moments of active peer surveillance thus highlighted where certain forms of knowledge were collectively restricted or silenced.

After closely examining the data, I discovered that the moments of collective silencing were conducted when the comments were either deemed irrelevant, incorrect or too sensitive to discuss. Where conversations were deemed irrelevant, the pupils frequently silenced the discourse due to an attempt by one pupil to make a humorous divergence from the main conversation. For example, in CS1B, the pupils were discussing conspiracy theories, when one pupil commented, "if you say Jesus backwards it sounds like sausage (G2)". B2 replied, "really? really?! That was completely irrelevant! (B2)". The other pupils laughed and returned the conversation back to its original course, thereby silencing the attempted alternative dialogue.

If a pupil supplied knowledge that was deemed incorrect, other pupils generally

interrupted with a correction. This silencing of discourse occurred in relation to multiple topics, although Osama bin Laden's death was the most frequently commented upon example. There were some moments that specifically related to religion, for example in CS3, one pupil stated that “the Muslims and Sikh communities always have wars” (B3.A), to which B1.A replied, “every religion has war”. This resulted in B3.A altering his original comment, so that it concurred with his peer: “yeah, I mean, like, every religion has war”. There were also a few examples of conversational changes during discussions about racism, as this example from CS4A concerning the KKK demonstrated:

G1: Who are they [the KKK] racist against?

B3: Black people

G4: Why is okay for black people to be racist against …?

G1: Black people aren't racist

B3: I guess they're not necessarily ...

G1: There aren't any groups ...

B1: You could say that al-Qaeda are technically black

B3: To be honest, there isn't a racist word for white people

As this conversation demonstrated, attempted corrections were not always correct in themselves, but they did expose the difficulties and concerns that the pupils had when discussing certain topics or ideas. This particular example could also be linked to concerns pupils had about a topic being deemed too sensitive, as G1's comments about associating racism with black people demonstrated.

However, most examples of sensitivity concerns were exposed by pupils interrupting

their peers to expand upon the information divulged. For example, in CS2A, I asked the pupils if they had discussed any particular religions within the group, to which B2 replied, “yeah, Islam”. However, G1's tone demonstrated her discomfort with this comment: she added, “but you could say with, like, the whole Catholic – Protestant views and stuff [pause]. It can work both ways, but I do think that Islam is probably the one that you'd think of first”. This form of interruption was encountered most frequently when religion, most noticeably Islam, was discussed by a pupil: the other pupils would often qualify their peers' comments by categorising this perception as a “stereotype” or that the terrorists involved were “extremists”. This again demonstrated the disposition of concern experienced in other forms throughout the data collection events, highlighting its importance in the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

9.2.4 School Mechanics

The internalisation of school discipline also affected how the pupils interacted with each other, the researcher and the teachers, during the research events (Foucault 1991:170 and MacNaughton 2005:32). Examining the school literature and teacher data provided certain insights into the techniques used within each school, in particular the rules and expectations, which influenced the pupils behaviour and language. In all cases, the pupils were expected to use appropriate language, thus no swearing or derogatory terms, and racism and bullying were condemned. Therefore, the caution demonstrated by pupils over language and behaviour could be considered indicative of the general school policies functioning within their interactions.

The teacher data provided more detailed information on how specific individuals and teaching methods affected the data collected from the pupils. Their regular interactions

with the pupils influenced how they responded to the classroom surroundings, the subject itself and the typical interactions that occurred during that lesson. Each teacher prioritised particular rules for each group, thus the expectations placed on the pupils depended on both the teacher's disposition and on that group's specific dynamics. This was particularly important in session 1, where the teacher's presence would have subconsciously reminded the pupils of their expectations: any interactions from the teacher would reinforce their rules. However, the data in session 2 was collected in an alternative location, thus the pupils would not have such a strong reminder of the teacher's rules. Despite this, when the data from the teachers and session 2 were compared, there were examples of how the teachers still affected and influenced the scope of the knowledge disclosed by the pupils.

9.2.4a Teacher Influences

As discussed in Chapter 5**,** the teachers had a range of concerns about the pupils' perceptions of terrorism, in particular their potentially racist or prejudiced views against immigrants, black people or Muslims. However, these concerns were only noticed in a very limited manner within the data, which could demonstrate that either the pupils were not as prejudiced as the teachers feared, or that the teachers had influenced the pupils' disclosure of knowledge prior to the research events. In the initial interviews, a few teachers commented that pupils were not always aware that their language was racist and thus it was something that needed "fixing" (CS1.T2), perhaps with community cohesion education or similar endeavours.

In my opinion, it was the disposition of the teachers (namely their concern about the association of racism and prejudice with terrorism) that may have affected the scope of

information the pupils felt permitted to disclose during the research events (something that was also influenced by the power-knowledge dynamics of RE and PHSE pedagogies, see Chapter 3.6). For example, in CS1, T2 deliberately conducted a lesson on immigration between my sessions, presumably because the pupils had made such a connection during or after the first research session (this lesson was not in the scheme of work I had received). However, they did not discuss any perceptions of this connection during session 2, which could demonstrate how this teacher may have influenced the pupils' choice to omit or avoid certain topics. Similarly, in CS4, T2 had discussed Islamophobia with the pupils and again it was evident that the pupils had been influenced by that lesson. Indeed, there were multiple examples of pupils trying to avoid appearing prejudiced, which probably originated from the school or teacher disciplinary mechanisms functioning behind the scenes: the pupils were aware of these rules and thus responded accordingly during their interactions with the researcher.

The comparative data also helped expose evidence of the teachers' influence over the disclosed knowledge, language and terminology used by the pupils during the research events. For example, in CS2, T1 was particularly interested by the influence of the media, which was a topic raised by the pupils: G1 even reiterated his stance that it was the “BBC” who had encouraged a culture of fear about terrorism. Another comment found in both group discussions was that “all extremists were religious, but not all religious people are extremists” (CS2A.B1 and CS2B.B1), which was an unusual comment and very similar to the language used by T1. In another case study, CS5, the pupils were aware of the differences between the lesser and greater *jihad*, which I thought must have been discussed during a previous RE lesson because I doubt they would have known about such terminology had it not been previously discussed. This

knowledge affected the results because these pupils made more links between religion and terrorism than pupils from the other case studies. Furthermore, since they did not really question whether the lesser *jihad* could be used to justify terrorism, I suspected that the teaching had not incorporated these debates and thus the pupils had interpreted it as something linking Islamic theology to terrorism, without challenging such ideas.

There were other examples of possible teacher influences over the data disclosed during the group discussions, but I cannot state with any certainty the extent to which a specific teacher had directly affected the results. The pupils rarely specified their sources, thus any omitted or disclosed knowledge may have been affected by alternative power-knowledge processes at work within the data collection events. An examination of the written data demonstrated that the pupils had some awareness of previous school lessons or assemblies on the topic of terrorism, but again connecting the information from those lessons to the data gathered during my research was highly speculative. The pupils' also commented on conversations with relatives or friends, as well as media sources, thus some information may not have been a direct result of the teacher's interactions with the pupils but rather influenced by these wider social power-knowledge dynamics at work within their perceptions of terrorism.

9.2.5 Wider Social Power-Knowledge Processes

Some of the pupils' comments demonstrated how the scope and disclosure of information was influenced by wider political, social, racial, economic, religious and cultural constructs that the pupils lived within. Although it is difficult to know how exactly these power-knowledge dynamics affected the data, the pupils provided information on some of the knowable facets, such as the geographical location and the

media, that helped shed light on these influences.

9.2.5a Geographical Location and Demographics

Both the local and UK environments were discussed by pupils and teachers as something that affected the pupils' perceptions of terrorism. Survey responses and comments from the group discussions typically focussed on comparing local features and demographics to other regions, to explain why certain areas were more associated with terrorism. For example, most schools were in small towns and some pupils stated this as a reason why terrorism might not happen there: larger cities such as Birmingham or London would be more of a target. Any concerns about the safety of the local area was typically seen as something caused by gangs or "chavs" (CS4B.P27), although in one case the pupil wrote that he felt unsafe because "there were fires in town, which I got told were terrorist attacks on the Asian community" (CS3A.P06).

Most of the comments regarding geographical location focused on the demographic differences as a cause of conflict or as something that influenced the pupils' perceptions of "the terrorist". For example, one teacher stated that "this is a very white, middle-class area, there are a lot of kids who use terms that they genuinely don't understand as being racist" (CS1.T2), and another commented that "we do have a surprisingly racist element amongst our students, just because its not part of their experience. If they grew up in Coventry or Birmingham it'd be familiar and not a problem," highlighting how perceptions of the local areas affected, and were affected by, some of the wider social power-knowledge dynamics concerning racism and prejudices. In another case, one teacher was particularly concerned that "this school is predominantly mono-ethnic... and some pupils think it's okay to be racist against Muslims because they're 'terrorists'

(CS4.T2)".

In the wider literature, some scholars and commentators have expressed similar views to the teachers, arguing that multiculturalism has affected community cohesion or national solidarity (Parekh 2006) and left Britain "sleepwalking to segregation" (Phillips 2005). However, others have cautioned against the presumption that multiculturalism has affected community cohesion; instead arguing that it is the *perception* of such problems that has affected the government's policy of prioritising the needs of minority communities and ignoring more general community-wide commonalities (Thomas 2011:2). Studies in areas such as Oldham and Rochdale have demonstrated how these policies have given rise to a discontented white working-class, who could be considered overtly racist due to their open opposition to minority ethnic groups (Thomas 2011). Although the discussions concerning multiculturalism, and the demographic comparisons between Warwickshire and these areas have been excluded from this thesis due to the expansive volume of literature on such subjects, these wider debates may have affected the results: it is possible that teachers were aware of the problems that have occurred in other predominantly white areas of the UK and this may have contributed to their concerns about racism existing in schools in Warwickshire.

The pupils themselves primarily used perceived local differences to explain why they thought terrorism may occur in other areas of the UK. For example, one pupil wrote "as we live near Birmingham – home to many Muslims – most being great – the threat MAY be there (CS2B.P03)" and another pupil commented that "it could happen near where I live because I live near Coventry and that's been bombed before (CS4A .P13)". However, a few pupils also commented on how they perceived UK terrorism differently

to other countries. For example, one pupils stated, “don't most of the terrorists come from different countries? They're not from here (CS3.B2.A)”, to which another replied, “those 7/7 Muslims were from England… they got brainwashed at a youth club or something” (CS3.B3.B). This demonstrated how some pupils had tried to differentiate between terrorism in other countries to that experienced in the UK; the UK-born terrorists were not necessarily “terrorists”, but rather individuals who had been “brainwashed”.

Overall, these findings demonstrated how perceptions of the local and UK environments influenced the pupils' perceptions of terrorism in a subtle manner. On the local level, terrorism was perceived as something that did not occur nearby, but rather as something distant, such as in Birmingham. Even then, some pupils tried to distance UK terrorists from their country, either by arguing those individuals were brainwashed or from somewhere else, a “foreign” country. This distancing from terrorism demonstrated how the pupils did not want to be physically associated with terrorism, which could be interpreted as something relating to the power of hegemony (Foucault 1991:184), as will be discussed in later chapters**.**

9.2.5b Media Sources

In the survey, the pupils wrote that they had heard about terrorism from a range of media sources, including television programmes, newspapers, websites and computer games. The *BBC News* was the most frequently mentioned TV programme, but some pupils also mentioned fictional shows, including *Homeland* and *Desperate Housewives*, which had story lines relating to terrorism (see Chapter 6).

With respect to the *BBC News*, it was difficult to know exactly how this source influenced the pupils' perceptions of terrorism because it was not frequently mentioned in the group discussions. The examples of terrorism provided by the pupils had probably originated from news sources, but other outlets such as newspapers or the radio may have contributed to the pupils' general knowledge and awareness of these events.

However, many teachers did discuss the influence of the media, with some expressing concerns about how the media in general, and the *BBC News* in particular, affected the pupils' perceptions of terrorism. A few teachers discussed how the BBC only showed Islamic examples of terrorism, which could make the pupils think more negatively about Muslims. In one case, the teacher added that he thought the *BBC News* could make the pupils more biased towards military endeavours against terrorists (CS6.T1). The pupils themselves did not really discuss these concerns, except in CS2A, where the pupils' comments were very similar to the views of CS2.T1, thus they may have simply been reiterating the teacher's opinions rather than their personal concerns about the media.

The majority of pupils did discuss examples of terrorism associated with Islam and were aware that these were the most dominant in their recollections of terrorism, but many also questioned the validity of these views (see Chapter 7). However, they did not generally associate the media with these perceptions nor did they really question the origins of their knowledge.

With respect to pro-military rhetoric, many pupils again expressed an awareness of such views, but did not really question their perceptions. According to Lewis, BBC reporting

is biased towards “the government and power corporations” (Lewis 2009:29); the military are presented as positive and necessary in the fight against terrorism, thus this could have influenced the pupils' views in this matter. Kelly (2003) added that pro-military ideas were reflected in other media sources too, in particular TV programmes such as the *X Factor* (where they raised money for *Help for Heroes*, a British Charity that helps military personnel**)** or *Military Wives*, where the military were presented as a force for good against the terrorists. Therefore, such opinions have almost become normalised, which could explain why pupils did not question such views (see Chapter 10 for more details).

Another media source discussed by pupils were computer games, in particular the *Call of Duty* Series, where the player primarily plays a soldier, which could have influenced some of the pro-military discourses experienced. According to CS2A.T1, this game also affected the pupils' views of Muslims as terrorists because the character “runs round Afghanistan shooting Muslims for fun!”. However, I was unable to find any examples of the campaign mentioned by CS2A.T1 and the gaming experiences were far more complex than this view suggests. For example, in *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 2*, the player can chose from multiple characters, such as a soldier in occupied Iraq or a “terrorist”. One pupil described this latter section as “a mission where you're in an airport and you shoot everybody... They make it so easy to show you how to commit terrorism – you run round with a gun and just kill people” (CS1B.B5). Although most pupils thought this was simply part of the story, one pupil in another case study stated that “it can motivate terrorism as well… because they might play that and think that's the way to do that!”(CS5.B4). However, the pupils did not generally perceive this source as having a negative impact on their perceptions of terrorism, nor as something

that could influence terrorist activities, but just a game.

These findings demonstrated how the perceptions of the power-knowledge dynamics of the media were perceived differently by the teachers and the pupils. In general, the teachers questioned the media sources and demonstrated concern about the impact that they had on the pupils. However, although some pupils were aware of the media's influence in their views, they did not generally question it. Computer games in particular were not seen as anything to be concerned about, but rather just games, something fictional and fun.

9.3 Conclusion

This exploration of the power-knowledge processes at work within the pupils' disclosure of knowledge demonstrated how both the individual and the social setting impacted on the scope and nature of the evidence collected. The pupils expressed a disposition of concern about how they and their peers would be perceived, particularly if they disclosed knowledge that others may have deemed inappropriate. Thus they deliberately silenced certain ideas through omission, deviation or the peer surveillance techniques discussed in Chapter 9.2.3. However, power-knowledge was also uncovered through the examples of imposed regulations and expectations placed on the participants by the teachers and the school environment. Certain disciplinary techniques functioned on both the conscious and subconscious level, thereby ensuring that standard practices were reinforced by all parties involved in the research. The particular topics that caused the power-knowledge to become exposed were religion and racism: topics that will be analysed further in the next chapter.

In addition to these considerations, there were wider social power-knowledge processes that functioned behind the scenes. Through an examination of the pupils' (and teachers') views of the impact that the geographical location and demographics, as well as the influence of the media, it became evident that certain ideas had influenced their perceptions. These included the notion that terrorism was physically distant from the pupils' everyday lives, both on a locational and ethnic basis, and that the media may have influenced how the activities of terrorists were perceived as distinctly different to the activities of the military. The next chapter will explore these issues in more detail by using the analyses and data discussed in the preceding chapters to produce a clearer picture of how the entire network of comprehension affected the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

Chapter 10

Analysis (3): Network of Comprehension

10.1 Introduction: Examining the Network of Comprehension

Following the results overview, Chapter 8 examined the pupils' language, to provide insights into the pupils' basic knowledge of terrorism. Chapter 9 then examined the nature of the pupils' known perceptions of terrorism by focussing on the effects of certain power-knowledge dynamics that influenced (and limited) the scope of divulged information. Now that both these facets have been individually explored, this chapter will endeavour to combine this information to provide an overview of the "network of comprehension" (Foucault 2002:330).

However, due to the wide range of ideas involved within this network, it was prudent to specifically focus on those ideas that corresponded to the research questions, in particular the pupils perceived links between religion and terrorism. To aid in this exploration, this chapter begins by exploring how and why the recollection of certain events affected these perceptions. This will be followed by an overview of the perceived motivations of terrorism, including racism (or prejudice), politics and religion. Due to the importance of religion, this chapter will examine both the term itself and some recollections about specific religions, including Islam, Sikhism and Christianity, before providing a more generalised overview of the pupils' perceived links between religion and terrorism.

10.2 Remembrance of Events

As outlined in Chapter 8, the pupils divulged information that demonstrated their general knowledge of terrorism, which in turn affected their perceptions. For this section, these events have been categorised into: historical, recent and hypothetical attacks, and conspiracy theories (a more complete list can be found in Appendix 9). These divisions have been used to help categorise and comprehend the data, but they can overlap or change, depending on how they are perceived and recalled: this analysis has used them as snapshots of information to aid in the comprehension of this divulged knowledge.

10.2.1 Historical Events

Some examples were categorised as "historical" because they either occurred before the pupils were born (such as World War II) or because the pupils were very young when they happened and may not remember witnessing them (such as 9/11). These examples demonstrated how interpretations and reinterpretations of events influenced the pupils' representation of knowledge about terrorism (Foucault 2002:36), thus highlighting how the "dispersion of time" (Foucault 2002:338) and the nature of human recall had affected their perceptions.

The association of terrorism with World War II demonstrated how current ideas had influenced the recollections of these events and why they were brought up during their discussions. As this example from CS3 highlights, the pupils associated the ideology of Nazism and the Holocaust with terrorism:

B1.A: Miss, would Adolf Hitler be a terrorist?

Me: Good question, what do you think?

B2.A: He was definitely a Nazi

B1.A: Yeah, but would that be terrorism?

G1.A: I think it's a war

B1.A: I think it's terrorism because he killed loads, like all those Jews were killed

In CS5C, the pupils suggested that this historical example could be considered both war and terrorism by dividing up the events: the bombing of buildings was war, but the concentration camps and nuclear bombs were "war crimes [and thus] acts of terrorism" (CS5C.B6). This showed that it was the ideology and certain forms of extreme behaviour (including the killing of innocents) that caused aspects of World War II to become perceived as terrorism. The ideological link to Nazism probably demonstrated how current trends influenced its inclusion within the discussion. As explored in the background literature, ideology (including neo-Nazism) featured in the government counter-terrorism literature, thus this could demonstrate how political power-knowledge dynamics may have subtly affected the pupils' perceptions (H.M. Government 2011a).

However, the attacks of 9/11 were the most prominent in the pupils' perceptions of terrorism and its dominance could be felt through much of the terminology (including names, activities and perceived motivations) and imagery used to describe terrorism (see Appendix 8). When examining the details of the pupils' disclosed knowledge about 9/11, it became apparent that some were unclear about the events themselves, sometimes linking them to conspiracy theories (see Chapter 10.2.4), or associating 9/11 with an incorrect timeline of modern conflicts, specifically the wars in Afghanistan (October 2001) and Iraq (March 2003). In a few case studies (not all), the war in Afghanistan was perceived as a cause for 9/11 and Iraq was the consequence of the

attacks. Although these incorrect recollections could simply demonstrate how knowledge is affected by the passage of time, I had encountered identical factual inaccuracies with other pupils prior to these research events, therefore I would suggest that they were not something associated with the pupils involved in this research, but rather a reflection of some wider social power-knowledge processes at work within the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

The incorrect timeline narrative was disclosed in a manner that demonstrated how the pupils wanted the conflicts to appear justifiable, in particular the Iraq war, which a few pupils considered necessary for the protection of society. According to some scholars, these modern wars are examples of a meta-narrative found in the UK that aims to reduce public opposition to the country's involvement in recent conflicts by normalising the process of militarism and focussing on “moral imperatives and obligations to the nation” (Bernazzoli and Flint 2009:400). The sociologist Kelly suggested that this is expressed by the linguistical construction of the “hero” against the “Other”: “our” virtuous soldiers were presented as morally righteous in comparison to the “evil” rebels, insurgents, terrorists or extremists (Kelly 2013:724). In general, this idea was reflected in the findings from the previous chapters, where some pupils used ideology and extreme behaviour to demonstrate the differences between warfare and terrorism: warfare was generally perceived as something more morally acceptable than the abhorrent acts of terrorism. Therefore, it is plausible that the incorrect timeline reflected the underlying power-knowledge process of presenting the military in a more positive light because it made the wars appear more justifiable.

This idea could also explain why World War II was referenced in these discussions.

British soldiers fought for “us” against the “evil” ideology of Nazism, demonstrating the historical necessity of “our” soldiers: a paralleled notion to the necessity of the current UK military endeavours against the “evil” terrorists (something also noticed in the discussions about the media, see Chapter 9). Interestingly, the government's definition of extremism (a term frequently associated with terrorism) included the “calls for the death of members of our armed forces” (H.M. Government 2011a:107); but it is difficult to hypothesise on how influential such ideas are within perceptions of terrorism.

During further investigation of the history curricula provided in a few case studies, the presentation of World War II appeared to be constructed as the “good war”, with soldiers as “heroes” (in comparison to the “bad war” and soldiers as “victims” of World War I), which linked to other literature on the topic (see for example Terkel 2001 or Schoenhals and Sarsenov 2013). Although these debates are beyond the scope of this thesis, it highlighted how the military in World War II may have been presented during those school lessons as a force for Good, who fought and were deployed in a manner that could be perceived as good, which has consequently contributed to the general perceptions that “our” soldiers, or indeed modern warfare in itself, could be considered necessary in certain contexts. Furthermore, during an interview with CS3.T1, the World War Remembrance Celebrations (11th November) were referenced as a source for the pupil's knowledge about terrorism, which could further demonstrate how these events have become linked to current power-knowledge trend towards a pro-military rhetoric. Another teacher, CS2.T1, also mentioned the “War on Terror” as a phrase sometimes used to explain current conflicts that may have been known by the pupils: again demonstrating how war has been presented as something positive, as something that helps to counteract “Terror”.

10.2.2 Recent Events

The recent examples discussed by the participants included: the underpants bomber (Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, 25th December 2009); Anders Breivik (attacks included bombs and shooting attacks in Norway, 22nd July 2011); and school shootings in America (multiple examples, but the shootings by Adam Lanza on 14th December 2012 were specifically mentioned). These examples were categorised as "recent" because they occurred close to the research events and it was impossible to know if they would be remembered by the pupils for an extensive length of time afterwards.

However, my previous research did provide some points for comparison in this regard (see Quartermaine 2010). The pupils in that study mentioned some similar examples, including al-Qaeda and the IRA, as well as the attacks of 9/11 and 7/7; the examples unique to that study included the Tamil Tigers and the Mumbai bombings (26th November 2008). An earlier study conducted by Cullingford on children's attitudes to politics and power (1992), contained a small section on pupils' perceptions of terrorism and he noted one conversation concerning the channel tunnel (which was being built at the time) and the associations pupils made between terrorism and football hooliganism and rioting (Cullingford 1992:106): examples that vastly differed to those uncovered in my research. Although there were obvious differences between these studies and my current work, it is interesting that certain groups and events have remained within the general social memory of terrorism, whereas others have been forgotten. I would hypothesise that those examples that hold longevity are probably recalled if they are useful in explaining other terrorist events, but future research would need to be conducted to help identify those examples of terrorism that hold the most social significance, so that this form of power-knowledge could be better comprehended

(Foucault 2002:36). One noticeable difference between Cullingford's study and my own was the lack of any links to religion, which suggested that this was a more recent phenomenon that may relate to specific events, such as 9/11, rather than a continuous expression of an underlying hegemonic power-knowledge associated with terrorism.

Although the examples discussed during these more recent research events may not hold longevity in themselves, the fact that the pupils referenced them provided some insights into how general perceptions of terrorism impacted on their comprehension of the term. By examining the language used to describe the events, some universal ideas were identified: they were committed by those with a strict or extreme belief, who planned the attack in secret, with the desire to cause destruction and kill innocent civilians. Each example also had its own narrative, for example the underpants bomber was discussed as a humorous example of terrorism, whereas the pupils who discussed the USA school shootings primarily focussed on the children who were killed. Anders Breivik was also mentioned as someone who had attacked children, but the pupils expanded on this example by discussing his ideology. For example, one pupil thought his ideas were similar to al-Qaeda: “he liked the way they worked” (CS2B.B1). Another pupil thought that he was connected to neo-Nazism (CS2A.B2) due to an arm gesture he made during his trial (straight arm up, but with a closed fist, see Kelly 2012). These connections had some similarities with the historical examples discussed: the pupils tried to make links between their knowledge of terrorist ideologies with examples of terrorism recently seen in the media, highlighting the strength of the hegemonic power discourses in their perceptions.

10.2.3 Hypothetical Attacks

In addition to the pupils discussing events that had happened, they also mentioned hypothetical attacks that could occur, including attacks at the Olympic Games (July-August 2012), bomb scares (such as one on the M6 toll road, 5th July 2012) and other possible future attacks by known terrorist groups, such as al-Qaeda. For all these examples, the pupils mentioned the need for additional security to prevent such attacks from occurring. As one pupil stated, "around the Olympics all the police have to be on really high alert and they overreact to anything that happens" (CS2A.B2).

However, the pupils mostly discussed the perceived continuous threat from al-Qaeda and individuals associated with the ideology that inspired 9/11. In the survey, the pupils generally thought that the terrorist threat level for the UK was quite high at "substantial" or "moderate", which was a similar categorisation to the MI5 threat level category of "substantial" from international terrorism for the whole of the UK at the time of the research events (see "Threat Levels", MI5 website). During the group discussion, one pupil commented that 9/11 was "a stepping stone on their way to doing something… so when you saw the attack, you realised something like that could actually happen" (CS4A.B4). This idea was repeated in other case studies, demonstrating how pupils generally perceived 9/11 as an exemplar case of terrorism that not only required an adequate response in itself, but also a continuous level of protection for society, thereby reinforcing the military's role as a protector against this form of aggression and again demonstrating the current trend in pro-military rhetoric.

For both World War II and 9/11, the pupils demonstrated how this power of hegemony functioned within their comprehension of terrorism. For example, when discussing

Nazism some pupils did not just associate the ideology with Hitler or other individuals from the time period, but also with Vladimir Putin (the current Russian President, CS3.B2.B), Anders Breivik (Norway shooter, CS1B.B4, CS2A.B2), and Scientology (CS4A.B4). On closer examination of the association of Nazism with Vladimir Putin, the pupil made the connection because he used "secret guns" (CS3.B2.B), which demonstrated the broad scope of such associations. With respect to 9/11, the pupils generally referenced Osama bin Laden or al-Qaeda, but some also noted their Islamic connection with the event – and linked this religion to possible (future) attacks that could occur within the UK (see Chapter 10.3.3).

10.2.4 Conspiracy Theories

According to Byford (2011), conspiracy theories are those attempts to explain how certain events were actually secret plots orchestrated by powerful forces, rather than accidents or deliberate acts committed by known perpetrators. He suggested that some theories have become part of a global phenomenon, in particular those widespread ideas (or myths) associated with 9/11 (Byford 2011:17). Indeed, the most common conspiracy theories discussed by the pupils related to 9/11 and included: how the buildings collapsed (some suggested there were bombs under the buildings); the lack of wreckage at the Pentagon site; and Illuminati-related causes for the attack. These theories can be found on a number of websites and may have been recalled since 9/11 is considered a "dramatic moment of shared cultural meaning-making" (Soukup 2008). However, in one case study (CS1B), the teacher had also influenced the pupils' knowledge of conspiracy theories, by showing them a www.youtube.com video of the devil's face apparently being seen in the smoke after a plane hit one tower. The detailed description of this video demonstrated how certain versions of 9/11 could capture the pupils'

imagination and almost supersede the mainstream or accepted narrative of the events.

There were a few isolated examples of other conspiracy theories, including the UFO incidents at Roswell; how the British Olympic mascots represented the Illuminati; and the events surrounding the death of Osama bin Laden (2nd May 2011). In the last example, a few pupils thought there was some mystery surrounding how he was found, the nature of his compound and why his body was thrown into the ocean. In one case study, the pupils also discussed how knowing about such conspiracy theories affected their perceptions of terrorism. As one pupil said: "the animated videos on *youtube*... can make terrorism look like a joke" (CS1B.B5). Another replied, "but it can brain-wash people as well… there's hidden messages in posters and stuff" (CS1B.B6).

The knowledge of these conspiracy theories demonstrated how certain events, in particular 9/11, did not have a "fixed" narrative. According to Emslie, this is because the evidence associated with extreme events has attained a "fluid status" (Emslie 2012:181), thereby giving them an imaginative quality, which in turn enhances its notoriety (Foucault 2002:69). Perhaps then, 9/11 was the pupils most recalled example because it was not only an extreme act of aggression, but also because it has gained an air of mystery: the evidence surrounding it has become subject to scrutiny, resulting in some hypothesising very vivid but rather questionable scenarios, which all contributed to the pupils' recollections of the event.

10.3 Perceived Motivations of Terrorism

As outlined in Chapter 8, religion, racism (or prejudice) and politics were the main motivations discussed by the pupils. This exploration will shed some light on the

specific concepts in themselves, but primarily use the evidence to aid in the comprehension of the pupils' perceptions of religion as a motivator for terrorism, due to the importance of these specific perceptions for study.

10.3.1 Racism and Prejudice

In both the survey and group discussions, many pupils highlighted racism, or the similar (broader) concept of prejudice, as a perceived motivator of terrorism. In some cases, the "terrorists" themselves were simply categorised as "racist" (CS1A.B1), but many pupils also referred to specific examples, such as Nazism or Anders Breivik, to explain their perceptions (see Chapter 8). These examples demonstrated how the concept was connected to terrorism: racism was perceived as something that caused extreme acts of violence, thereby making it something that, by its very nature, appear abhorrent. Interestingly, these perceptions also affected the scope of information divulged by the participants: the fear of being associated with such abhorrent views made pupils wary about what they discussed during the research events and thus they altered, subverted or avoided such discussions (see Chapter 9).

This form of power-knowledge also influenced how the pupils discussed religion, in particular Islam. As one pupil commented, "if a Muslim did an attack, they could be a sick person but people associate it with the whole race, which is unfair" (CS4, Islamophobia lesson data). Although this comment may simply demonstrate some misunderstanding about the differences between the terms racism and prejudice, in my opinion it highlighted the confusion that some pupils expressed about who could be categorised as "Muslim". Although in most cases the pupils simply associated Muslims with the religion Islam, there were a few examples of pupils categorising "brown"

people as Muslim, whilst others referenced specific regions and countries, including the Middle East, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Where pupils expressed these views, their comments tended to demonstrate how they perceived Muslims as the "other", as people who were noticeably different from members of their local community. By connecting Muslims to a race or group that differed to their own, these pupils demonstrated how they perceived those who followed Islam to be distinct from themselves, thereby making them more "alien" and outside of their perceptions of the hegemonic social norm. Although it must be said that these views were infrequently mentioned, those pupils who expressed these opinions did highlight an important factor to the discussions about terrorism (see Chapter 11).

10.3.2 Politics

The pupils' comments about politics were more varied than those concerning religion or racism: when it was discussed, there was a broader spectrum of ideas about both its positive or negative influence in terrorist attacks. Furthermore, the nature of the pupils' discussions did not demonstrate the disposition of concern experienced with the other concepts. Although this was possibly because some pupils were unclear what the term "politics" referred too (for example, one pupil thought it was simply connected to the voting system, CS6.G2), the comments generally demonstrated more positive perceptions of politics in itself.

In comparison to racism, politics tended not to be linked to religion, but was rather perceived as an alternative motivation: something that pupils used to demonstrate their wider knowledge of terrorism. For example, during discussions about the IRA, the few pupils who had knowledge of the group perceived their religious affiliations as

something distinct, that could be used to describe the attackers, but not as something that actually caused those attacks (the political reasons were more prominent). Thus, even when politics was discussed negatively, the pupils used specific examples to justify their arguments but distinguished the political causes from other reasons: something that was also uncovered by the examples given in the State literature (see Chapter 3).

Unfortunately the examples were fairly limited and it is difficult to know why the discussions about politics differed to those concerning racism or religion. I suspect that it may have been due to a lack of knowledge about the concept of politics: I did not provide additional information about the term in the survey and some pupils did enquire about its meaning during the group discussions, therefore more research would need to be conducted in this regard before a definitive hypothesis could be reached.

10.3.3 Religion

Pupils in all case studies linked religion to terrorism, sometimes through word association (Chapter 6) or through more detailed knowledge of particular examples and ideologies discussed. In Chapter 8, I noted that some pupils provided alternative words, such as “extremism” or “belief” as a way of distancing “religion” from terrorism, but these examples were limited: in most cases, the pupils specifically used the word “religion”. One example included a pupil who stated that “a lot of disagreements are to do with religion… Terrorists normally do it for religion because they see it as more important and it's why they do it” (CS3.BB3), demonstrating how religion was perceived as the most typical cause of disagreements in general, and terrorism in particular. In another case, the pupil thought that terrorism was caused by “people who

are quite strongly against a religion, so if another country doesn't worship their religion or they find that another country says something against their religion... they tend to blame it on their religion and say, 'God told us to do this' and 'God told us to do that'" (CS6.G1), demonstrating how some pupils thought that religion may have been used as both the motivator and excuse for terrorist activities.

Overall, "religion" (however the pupils defined it) was presented as a central ideological cause for terrorism, demonstrating the strength of the connections made between these concepts. However, before this can be explored in more detail, the associations made to specific religions, Islam, Sikhism and Christianity, need to be examined because these highlight different facets of the association, that can help explain the specific nature of the pupils' perceptions of the religious links to terrorism.

10.3.3a Connections to Islam

The most common religion referenced as a motivator for terrorism was Islam: both the pupils and teachers explicitly and subtly referenced this religion. Some of the explicit comments detailed specific elements of knowledge (see Chapter 8), but there were also times when the knowledge caused participants to hesitate or silence their discourse, thereby demonstrating their disposition of concern about the subject. These two expressions of power-knowledge demonstrated the complexity of Islam's association with terrorism, and thus require individual evaluations before an overall comprehension could be achieved (Foucault 2002:59).

One explanation for the connections made between Islam and terrorism came from the explicit knowledge discussed, particularly where 9/11 was referenced as a key example

of terrorism. Since 9/11 is typically categorised as a terrorist attack, known to the pupils as being perpetrated by Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda (individuals associated with Islam) the connection had already been formulated by their general awareness of this terrorist attack prior to the research events. As one pupil poignantly stated, “al-Qaeda are so famous and because they're Muslims, obviously, people will often think that Muslims are terrorists because they associate them with al-Qaeda” (CS4A.G4).

When the pupils discussed their perceptions of Islam in more detail, they provided some interesting insights into their specific knowledge on the topic. For example, some pupils associated terrorism with the Islamic concept of *jihad (*CS5A), and in one group discussion (CS4A) the pupils thought that:

G4: terrorists feel like its their duty to do it, so that's why they do it

B2: That's where al-Qaeda and stuff like that comes from, so that's what's right and wrong to them

G4: They take the Qur'an literally

This demonstrated how some pupils associated al-Qaeda's ideology with a specific religious concept (*jihad)*, the notion of religious duty, literal interpretations of religious texts and an unambiguous ethical worldview. As Bonney (2004) noted, the word *jihad* is particularly problematic because it is a contested category, that does link to notions of religious duty, but not in the manner expressed by al-Qaeda. However, the pupils' awareness of this concept does demonstrate how the literature found in the media, academic and terrorist arenas has remained within the general perceptions of the group's motivations, as well as the possible influence of classroom teachers.

The more subtle avoidance of discussing the Islamic connections to terrorism shed light on another aspect of the power-knowledge dynamics: a wariness about the justifiability of making such connections. However, on a few occasions, the pupils were willing to express their disposition of concern, as this example from CS3 demonstrates:

B3.A: Terrorism is not always Muslims, because that's the stereotype that terrorism is always Muslims, but its not. It could be anyone.

Me: Why do you think there is a stereotype?

B3.A: Coz of Osama Bin Laden

B2.A: al-Qaeda

B3.A: The Taliban… Its also coz they hide their face

B2.A: Yeah, Muslims don't really like showing their faces

This again demonstrated how the power of hegemony functioned within the pupils' perceptions of terrorism: they were aware that 9/11 and the associated perpetrators had influenced their knowledge, but in this case, they also noted that this had caused problems for the entire Muslim community.

An interesting dynamic of this discussion was the inclusion of imagery. In the pictures drawn, most terrorists were men wearing a turban and beard (see Appendix 8), but here the pupils also included Muslims who don't show their faces. This could relate to images of terrorists/criminals wearing balaclavas or to Muslim women wearing the *Niqab* or *Burka* (forms of Islamic headdress). Both examples were noticeable within the media discourses at the time of the research event, although the stories relating to public responses to the French ban on face covering in public places (made illegal on 11th April 2011) did receive more publicity due to its effect on Islamic headwear, therefore I would

hypothesise that this was the more likely reference. If this was the case, then more general perceptions of Islamic clothing may have become incorporated into the stereotypes associated with negative images of Islamic terrorism, perhaps demonstrating how the power of hegemony had become more expansive over time (discussed further in Chapter 11).

The pupils' discussions about the Islamic connections to terrorism also demonstrated another power-knowledge dynamic, namely a disposition of concern that the demonisation of individuals or an entire community perceived as having commonalities to terrorists, was an inappropriate response. Similar expressions of this instability were also uncovered in those academic texts explaining how connections between Islam and terrorism were unfair representations of the faith. Such ideas have seeped into the literature associated with the school arena, with some scholars contributing to discussions about a range of anti-racism or anti-prejudiced curriculum practices (see Chapter 3) and about Islamophobia in particular (see Richardson 2004 and www.insted.com). Indeed, in one case study, the teacher had specifically taught about Islamophobia (CS4B), which was noticeable within that group discussion, thereby demonstrating how such ideas had influenced those participants.

10.3.3b Connections to Sikhism

Although Sikhism was rarely mentioned as a motivator for terrorism, the example from CS2 was useful in providing deeper insights into the confusing connections some pupils made between terrorism and this particular religion. For example, T1 commented that a number of pupils had written racist terminology (“Pakis”) and other expletive comments in a school textbook on Sikhism, resulting in them undergoing an intensive RE session

about the turban and the main geographical locations of Sikhs. Although I did not experience examples of prejudiced language in this particular case study, the CS2A group discussion did include a short conversation about Sikh military prowess being somehow connected to terrorism.

The pupils initially connected Sikhism to the Crusades (dating from 1095 to 1291 – although the religion did not emerge in the Punjab until the 15th Century), with B3 providing a detailed (albeit incorrect), description of the exceptional, but extreme (terrorist) tactics they used to win that conflict. Perhaps he was referring to other conflicts, such as the World Wars, where the Sikhs did have a reputation for excelling on the battlefield (Madra and Singh 1999), but the tactics he believed had been used were more akin to historical conflicts, where swords were the primary weapon. I would also speculate that he had some recollection that the Crusades were referenced in the literature published by terrorists such as Osama bin Laden, thereby demonstrating some of the wider social confusion about Sikhism and Islam (see Sidhu and Singh Gohil 2009 for a detailed discussion about post-9/11 perceptions of Sikhism) as well as T2's experience with pupils.

The remainder of the pupils' dialogue demonstrated the unusual manner in which knowledge and imagination can intertwine during conversations about terrorism. For example, the pupils showed an awareness of the *Gatka* (a traditional weapon-based martial art) but they also categorised the Sikhs associated with terrorism as “ninja warriors”, demonstrating how they connected an extreme form of fighting with terrorism. Interestingly, at the time, there were some news stories about a Sikh Master from the *Nihang* caste recruiting a disciple (Hegarty 2011), and some websites

categorised him as a "ninja", who specialised in the martial art of *shastar vidya* (Biddell 2011), therefore the pupils may have recalled that information, but I am unsure why they would connect that with terrorism.

What was particularly puzzling from this conversation was the notion that Sikhs would cover their swords in excrement. It is highly doubtful that any Sikh would perform such an act due to the respect held for the *kirpan,* therefore it may have been an urban "myth", which would suggest some general misunderstandings or prejudices against Sikhs. However, I suspected that it was more likely to be a misremembering of multiple stories that have merged into a random mix of ideas incorrectly linked to Sikhism (Foucault 2002:155). There are examples of swords being covered in various types of poison (not excrement) in some fiction books and computer games (such as *Assassins Creed*), which could explain why these "ninja warriors" were connected to such activities. There is also a graphic novel based on The Battle of Crecy (26th August 1346) that incorporates the idea of excrement on a sword (Ellis 2007), and the clothing drawn in the book is reminiscent of that worn by Crusaders, thus it is possible that B3 had read this story, thereby explaining his earlier connection to the Crusades. However, the manner in which G1 completed B3's sentence demonstrated that other pupils were aware of the story, thus this topic had probably been discussed previously. During an informal discussion with a history teacher at the school, I discovered that in Year 7, the pupils studied the Crusades and she has discussed examples of excrement being used as weaponry – not on swords, but in other forms – so it is possible that the pupils had recalled those lessons, but the passage of time (Foucault 2002:338) had affected their remembrance of its details.

Although there was uncertainty over the exact origins of the pupils' knowledge, this example was useful in providing deeper insights into how prior knowledge became combined with other ideas (or the pupils' imagination), to produce an interpretation of terrorism that was factually incorrect, but which demonstrated how the pupils disclosed perceptions of terrorism were "at the mercy of representations" (Foucault 2002:309). Religion in this context was not necessarily seen as a motivation for terrorism but rather as something that provided tactical insights into how acts of violence and terrorism could be performed. This mixing of the perceived military qualities associated with Sikhism and more extreme forms of behaviour probably originated from a variety of sources including previous school lessons, peer conversations, or even wider media sources: examples of power-knowledge dynamics that influenced what the pupils discussed within the research context. There may have also been a degree to which the pupils had confused the Sikh turban with the outward expressions of Islamic religiosity (one example was discussed by CS4.T2, see www.realsikhism.com website). However, regardless of these potential external influences, what was more informative was the disposition of the pupils during this discussion: they were comparatively less concerned that they would appear factually incorrect or prejudiced than during conversations about Islam.

10.3.3c Connections to Christianity

The connections made between Christianity and terrorism were noticeably different to those made between Islam or Sikhism and terrorism: Christianity was more frequently presented in a positive light and not as a motivator for terrorism. For example, in one case study, the pupils thought that Christianity demonstrated how religion should not be associated with terrorism because, "if you think of a Christian, you think they're good

natured... they have rules like 'love thy neighbour'" (CS1A.G2). In another case study, the pupils used the term "cult" to differentiate Christianity from terrorism, arguing that Jesus was not a terrorist because he did not rule by fear (CS2A.B2). In that example, the pupils also discussed how his miracles may have been considered acts of witchcraft (CS2A.B1), but this association was not overtly negative and again demonstrated how the pupils differentiated the Christian faith from terrorism.

When Christianity was associated with terrorism, it was only mentioned briefly in relation to specific examples, including the Crusades, the IRA, Anders Breivik or the school shootings in America. The pupils tended to use these examples to demonstrate wider knowledge of terrorism or to show how it was not just Islam that they associated with terrorism. As mentioned earlier, their perceptions of the IRA were not overtly religious though, but rather something associated with politics, which differed greatly to their comprehension of al-Qaeda. Furthermore, the few pupils who knew of the IRA generally stated that they had gained their knowledge from relatives (rather than the media or other sources) which probably influenced their understanding of the group.

This difference in perceptions of Christianity could be the result of a number of factors. On a society-wide level, Christianity is not typically discussed in relation to terrorist attacks: even with respect to Anders Breivik, who categorised himself as a Christian (Breivik 2011), many media sources omitted or denied his religious association (see Gibson 2011) - although some do disagree with this denial (see Blumenthal 2011). On the local level, Warwickshire has a relatively high proportion of people who associate themselves with Christianity (see Chapter 5), thus more pupils would have contact with members of the Christian community than with the Muslim or Sikh populations, which

could have impacted on their general knowledge of the religion, making it something less alien than the other faiths. Finally, within the education system, Christianity is typically the most discussed religion within RE lessons, therefore pupils probably had more general knowledge about the religion,[18] which again would have increased their understanding of the religion and thus reduce prejudices or associations with terrorism (see Aboud and Levy 2000). Whatever the cause, this example demonstrates how it was not necessarily "religion" in general that was associated with terrorism, but rather specific examples of certain religious traditions, in particular Islam, that brought forth a perceived association between these concepts.

10.3.3d Review of these Perceptions

As these examples demonstrated, Islam was the most frequently discussed religion and was generally considered an important motivator for terrorism, which was expected due to the findings in the background literature. However, the pupils did question the legitimacy of this connection, thereby demonstrating a degree of instability within the hegemonic power-knowledge associated with the typical imagery associated with terrorism. The discussion on Sikhism demonstrated how some connections were made when pupils had a lack of knowledge about the religion, which perhaps encouraged the imaginative thinking witnessed during those discussions: in this context, religion was not necessarily the motivator for terrorism but rather something that could inform, in a practical manner, how one could conduct terrorist activities. In comparison, Christianity was presented in a more positive light and not seen as a motivator for terrorism. This perceived difference was probably due to the increased knowledge or contact with people from that faith in the local area.

[18] Although Ofsted 2010:6 suggests that there are weaknesses in the teaching of Christianity in RE lessons

These individual examples demonstrated how certain religions influenced the connections made between religion and terrorism and the exploration of them helped explain the nature of the connections made between these concepts. However, some results also demonstrated another level to the data, which suggested that “religion” as a generalised concept was also associated with, and considered a general motivator for, terrorism. A reason for the perceived connection between religion and terrorism could be the rise in atheism, agnosticism and “non-religion” (see Martin 2006 and Gutkowski 2014). In this study, both the 'non-religion' category and the desire not to express one's religiosity demonstrated how religion, or rather an explicit adherence to a religion, was almost an abnormal response for the participants (see Chapter 6); something that reflected the rise in non-religion found within the general population (see Chapter 5). Thus perceptions of “religion”, in particular those faiths that were more distant to the pupils (in this case Islam and Sikhism), could be considered outside the hegemonic social power-knowledge of the participants, thus they would probably have negative perceptions of religion simply because such beliefs differed to their 'norm'. I would add that the more positive views of Christianity experienced in Warwickshire were probably due to the demographics of the local area (my experience of projects conducted externally to this thesis in Birmingham and Luton did not replicate these findings), rather than a general UK-wide view of the religion, but more research needs to be conducted in this regard. Despite the more positive discussions about Christianity, it is possible that the rise in a general rejection of religion contributed to religion being connected terrorism (some commentators, such as Dawkins 2009, make such connections to promote non-religious world views), simply due to the general negative perceptions of both concepts.

In addition to these theoretical causes for the connections made between religion and terrorism, the background literature (for example Juegensmeyer 2004b and Chapter 3) also highlighted a number of other factors that could have contributed to the pupils' perceptions, but which may not have been disclosed during the research events, perhaps due to a lack of time or because such knowledge was not explicitly within the participants recollections of the topic. It is also important to note that some pupils thought religion should not be associated with terrorism and expressed alternative hypotheses about what could motivate terrorists, including racism or prejudice and politics, thereby demonstrating the difficulties with drawing solid conclusions about the pupils' general perceptions of terrorism and its links to religion (something that will be expanded upon in the following chapter).

10.4 Conclusion

In this study, the historical examples of terrorism demonstrated how certain events, such as World War II, were recalled because they had a function: in this case, it helped reinforce the military's importance in protecting society against terrorism. The hypothetical attacks similarly demonstrated the importance of this society-wide protection against terrorists and highlighted the power of hegemony. Thus anyone that could be perceived as being associated with the current forms of terrorism could come under scrutiny simply by their very association with known examples of terrorism. The current examples demonstrated how the pupils tried to make links between their knowledge of terrorist ideologies with what they had seen in the media or heard from other sources. Although this sometimes meant that an ideology was associated with an attack or perpetrator that was not necessarily justified, it demonstrated the strength of

the hegemony. Finally, the conspiracy theories demonstrated why an event may have been recalled: it was not just simply due to the violence in itself but also due to the element of mystery or secrecy associated with it. Such strangeness made the event memorable and thus enhanced its status within the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

The examples discussed by the pupils helped shed light on what they thought caused or motivated terrorist attacks, in particular racism or prejudice, politics and religion. The pupils specifically highlighted Islam as the main religion that motivated terrorism; a perception that was probably influenced by the continuing remembrance of specific events such as 9/11 or 7/7. However, the relationship was more complex than a simple association by recollection. Some pupils were aware that associating an entire religious community with terrorism was unfair and discussed how this was a stereotype. Others struggled to explain their dichotomous views: how could their limited knowledge of terrorism as something motivated by Islam be reconciled with their knowledge that this was a prejudiced viewpoint? As I will now discuss, this instability within the power of hegemony provided useful insights into the complex nature surrounding the pupils' perceptions of terrorism.

Chapter 11

Analysing Perceptions: Reflections using Foucault

11.1 Introduction

Throughout this research project, various elements of the pupils' perceptions of terrorism were explored: from the initial interactions with schools and teachers (that restricted the research events as well as the language used by the pupils) to the disclosed knowledge (data sets) that provided deeper insights into the ideas held by pupils. In the preceding analysis chapters, the specific forms of knowledge explored included the language used, the power-knowledge dynamics and finally the entire network of comprehension. These analyses provided deeper insights into what knowledge was expressed (the content) and contributed to a general comprehension of the data gathered (namely, the research process). However, the possible reasons behind such expressions of knowledge were not explored in depth. Therefore, this chapter will refer back to the theoretical foundations that helped formulate the thesis (Chapter 2) and explore the process of disclosure, as exposed by the research. This will include an exploration into the reasons why certain perceptions of terrorism were disclosed (or omitted) by the participants and thus provide some concluding responses to the research questions (as laid out in Chapter 1).

Foucault's analysis of power-knowledge provided useful insights into how the power of hegemony and surveillance functioned behind the expressions of knowledge discussed in the preceding chapters. His theories gave deeper insights into why this knowledge took certain forms and helped explain why certain elements were permitted disclosure, whilst others remained hidden. However, there were discrepancies within these

uncovered power-knowledge dynamics, expressed as either something mysterious or something that heightened the participants' disposition of concern. These discrepancies demonstrated an instability within the power of hegemony and highlighted certain questions about the legitimacy of the perceptions of terrorism known to, and expressed by, the participants.

By exploring these various theoretical elements of knowledge formation and disclosure, more detailed insights into the pupils' perceptions of terrorism will be uncovered and contribute to the formulation of those conclusions reached by this research project.

11.2 The Power of Hegemony and Surveillance

In *Discipline and Punish* (1991), Foucault hypothesised that it was the process of power-knowledge that determined the forms and domains of knowledge expressed by individuals (see Chapter 2 and Foucault 1991:28). The "micro-physics of power" (including the power-knowledge dynamics associated with pupil relationships, social expectations and so on, Foucault 1991:26) functioned behind the scenes and influenced the language used by the participants and the information expressed or avoided during the research process. One form of this power-knowledge process was uncovered in Chapter 5, during the investigation into those disciplinary mechanics of schools that affected the scope of the information divulged. However, once the data had been gathered, another power-knowledge process was uncovered: that of the State.

Foucault hypothesised that the State used certain strategies to enforce power over the population (Foucault 1991:26). One strategy that affected this research process related to the implications of criminalised behaviours and its effects on the required scope of

society-wide surveillance. Foucault stated that criminal offences had become objects of revulsion and that the perpetrators of such crimes were not just perceived as wrong but as those who had gone against an entire society (Foucault 1991:90). In examples of extreme criminal behaviour, prevention was encouraged as part of the punishment (Foucault 1991:93): thus, the surveillance increased from simply examining the acts of criminality such individuals had performed, to incorporating identifiable markings by which such individuals could be identified in the future, to aid in the prevention and repetition of those acts (Foucault 1991:92). These markings would include the images, actions and justifications: aspects that could become part of the "play of representations" (Foucault 1991:101) associated with extreme criminality. Consequently, any individuals perceived as having similar criteria to those associated with such criminality become subject to some degree of scrutiny, simply due to the potential risk they may possess by their very association (however loose it may be) with those criminals: they are subject to the power of hegemony.

Although the word hegemony has a complex set of associated discourses (see Howson and Smith 2008), Foucault meant it in terms of the power associated with observed differences, and the process of observing difference, that "produce a reality" (Foucault 1991:194) about the representations of criminality. In this research, the examples of terrorism discussed by pupils, such as 9/11 or Anders Breivik, demonstrated how they perceived such events to be unique forms of criminal behaviour: something that required additional surveillance, to prevent their repetition. The examples used were connected by their perceived links to extreme ideologies that required a response from State forces, such as the military. Therefore, both the acts in themselves (which the pupils' perceived as the killing of innocents in an unexpected and violent manner) and

the individuals' motivations (such as religion or racism) were associated with terrorism and perceived as something that came under the "normalizing gaze... that [made] it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish" (Foucault 1991:194). The pupils were even expected to partake in this surveillance; the literature provided by the State mechanics (the Police Prevent team) informed pupils that it was their personal responsibility to report terrorism to the authorities (Warwickshire Police 2012:43**)**. This demonstrated how State surveillance powers were experienced by individuals since the micro-level of the surveillance mechanics were exploited via standard State mechanics to ensure that the macro-level requirement of maintaining control over all elements of society was adhered to.

The most noticeable example of terrorism discussed by the pupils was 9/11 and their descriptions of this event, and its perpetrators, demonstrated Foucault's theory that anything associated with such extreme criminality could become subject to the power of surveillance, as expressed via the power of hegemony or observable differences. The perpetrators of 9/11 were associated with specific imagery (men with covered heads and/or beards), acts (the killing of innocent civilians) and justifications (perceived as something related to Islam). The extent of these associations was demonstrated within other discussions, such as the pupil who wrongly claimed that Anders Breivik had been inspired by al-Qaeda (CS2B.B1) or by the hypothesis that future attacks would probably originate with al-Qaeda. However, al-Qaeda was not simply perceived as a group who followed an extreme ideology, the pupils also connected them to wider religious and racial observations, that demonstrated additional layers of perceived differences.

11.2.1 The Power of "Religion"

The power of hegemony expressed by the pupils demonstrated how they associated a specific form of religion, Islam, with terrorism. However, the data also showed that they associated "religion" in general with the phenomenon. On a theoretical level, the reason for this association could be that "religion" is something that threatens the State: individuals who adhere to a faith look to an authority different to governmental powers, which could be perceived as something that threatens the government's ability to control such individuals (this could also link to the securitisation of Islam debate, see Mavelli 2013). Typical "systems of micro-power" (Foucault 2002:222) exerted by the government cannot easily infiltrate such alternative systems of power, particularly if it adheres to something considered an Ultimate authority (such as God). This theory could also explain the wider social movement towards atheism (or "militant atheism", see Dawkins 2009), agnosticism and "non-religion" (see Martin 2006, Gutkowski 2014 and Wallis 2014), but such discussions are beyond the remit of this thesis.

Some scholars, such as Cesari, have argued that "Western" State's inability to control "religion" has contributed to some religions, in particular Islam, being increasingly associated with terrorism: it is frequently presented as an "alien" faith, with a firm association to a "foreign" land (i.e. Mecca), with noticeable different cultural expressions of identity, including clothing, buildings, rituals and so on, that could be considered threatening to "Western" States (see Cesari 2013). By associating terrorism with the faith, Islam appears more "alien", even "evil" (see Foucault 2002:336 for details about how morality is perceived, not an intrinsic quality), and something that requires a reinforced power of State-defined hegemony, as expressed through an increased State and society-wide surveillance (Jackson 2007).

This general surveillance meant that any perceived fear of Muslims consequently allowed for a more totalitarian regime of regulation and disciplinary power to seep into society, thereby reinforcing State powers. In a way, perhaps the perception of terrorism being linked to Islam was merely a demonstrable mechanic of the State's inability to control this religion and the use of this fear ensured that surveillance of this group seemed necessary. However, for this power of hegemony to function, it also required a level of imagery associated with this perceived threat, but how could the pupils identify a "Muslim"? Within the data, some pupils associated Islam with those discourses concerning race and prejudice, thereby highlighting a possible tactic by which they could identify the "Muslim" threat. However, such discourses also demonstrated a complicated relationship between perceptions of religion and perceptions of race: as will now be discussed.

11.2.2 The Power of Racial Distinctions

According to Foucault, observable differences are essential to the power of hegemony functioning within society (Foucault 1991:184). Therefore, connecting Muslims to a particular race provided a noticeable feature by which such individuals could become categorised and consequently fall under the ongoing power of society-wide surveillance. Within the data collected, a few pupils specifically focussed on "black" or "Asian" races as being associated with Islam and/or terrorism, which demonstrated how they perceived those who followed Islam to be racially distinct from themselves, thereby making them appear more "alien" and outside of their perceptions of the hegemonic social norm.

These perceptions of Islam, particularly the criminal associations made to Islam, being linked to a particular race, can be found within wider social perceptions of the religion. According to Webster, from the 1980s onwards, there was a change in popular and police perceptions of Asian young people, from being law-abiding to lawless individuals (Webster 2012:204). He argued that the divisions between white and Asian men during this time contributed to an increase in racially-motivated crimes in certain areas of the UK, such as Bradford. However, he also noted that particular events, such as the Salmon Rushdie case in 1989,[19] were influential turning points in enforcing a perceived racial (primarily Asian) connection to Islam. Thus, such sentiments were already within the general perceptions of Islam prior to 9/11: this later event simply contributed to these hegemonic discourses and solidified those perceived associations of the "Asian Muslim" to criminal activities. However, 9/11 was also more memorable than the Rushdie affair because it was within the pupils' lifetimes and was a surprise attack, with a significant global impact: the event was generally presented as something extreme, almost unique, and thus strengthened those stereotypes.

In addition to the pupils distinguishing terrorists on religious and racial grounds, some pupils also differentiated these individuals as immigrants or as those who had been "brain-washed" or as suffering from mental illness. Although such distinctions have not been discussed in depth here, they do highlight another layer of the hegemonic discourses at play within the pupils' perceptions of terrorism since they provided more noticeable categories for differentiation.

However, these categorisations were not accepted by all pupils: many demonstrated

[19] The author Salmon Rushdie was sentenced to death in a *fatwa* by Ayatollah Khomeini, which resulted in his novel, *The Satanic Verses* (1988), being publicly burned by a small group of Asian Muslims in Bradford.

wariness when discussing such associations. They were concerned that categorising a particular religious and/or racial group with terrorism could be deemed prejudiced in itself, thus some avoided discussing such views. This disposition of concern highlighted a possible instability within this power of hegemony and surveillance: something that perhaps threatened the functionality of this form of State power.

11.3 Instability From Within

Foucault suggested that the functionality of hegemonic power-knowledge was dependent upon its secrecy, its ability to remain "hidden" from society (Foucault 1991:105). If not, it could become unstable and form a basis by which resistance could emerge; a social counter-hegemonic strategy (Smart 1986:170). According to Smart, a critic of Foucault, such forms of resistance signify the presence of a potential instability in the power of hegemony, which could be considered a limitation of Foucault's hypotheses into this form of power-knowledge (Smart 1986:170).

This instability was possibly demonstrated during the pupils' discussions about the Islamic connections to terrorism: it exposed the disposition of concern they had about the formulation and expression of such knowledge. In some cases, they were concerned that the demonisation of individuals or an entire community perceived as having commonalities to terrorists, was an inappropriate response. In others, the pupils were wary that they would be categorised as somehow exhibiting a racist or prejudiced attitude themselves, and therefore they chose to simply avoid discussing the topic altogether. The awareness that such ideas could be stereotypes, demonstrated how the power of hegemony was restricted and even questioned by the pupils: the power of anti-prejudiced discourses functioned behind the scenes and caused tension in their

perceptions of terrorism. Such tensions could be paralleled to the concerns raised in Chapter 3.6, regarding the problematic dynamic faced by RE teachers when trying to broach the topic of terrorism: namely, how to adhere to the safeguarding of children and the use of non-prejudiced language whilst simultaneously providing scope for critical discussion that does not exceed the boundaries of State or social expectations.

The instability within the power of hegemony was also expressed by the pupils' factual inaccuracies and knowledge of conspiracy theories or mysteries. Therefore, there were two main factors that affected the strength of the hegemonic power-knowledge associated with perceptions of terrorism: the lack of general knowledge about the topic (expressed as factual inconsistencies or mysteries) *and* the tension between, or effects of, other power-knowledge social influences, in particular the anti-prejudiced discourses.

11.3.1 Inconsistencies and Mystery

In *The Order of Things* (2002), Foucault stated that language provided the visible manifestations of knowledge (Foucault 2002:xx), however, these expressions of an object or idea are not necessarily "real" because they express *representations* of knowledge rather than knowledge in itself (Foucault 2002:36). These representations then become subject to a constant cycle between representations and interpretations of those representations, that could have been sparked by an actual event or simply reaffirm "myths" about the topic under discussion (Foucault 2002:374): any recalled representations must possess the "obscure power of making a past impression present once more" (Foucault 2002:69) if it is to remain within society's general memory of a concept.

Therefore, the factual inconsistencies and mysteries associated with terrorism could simply have demonstrated how the nuances of language and memory affected the knowledge expressed by the pupils. The pupils' disclosed perceptions of terrorism were "at the mercy of representations" (Foucault 2002:309), affected by the passage of time and by the layers of inconsistent knowledge available via different media sources or simply from the individual's imagination. Such factors affected the pupils' ability to comprehend their knowledge about terrorism and thus resulted in some ideas becoming subject to mankind's ever-changing representations of knowledge.

However, some examples of these inconsistencies or mysteries were not simply subject to the passage of time or to an individual's imagination, but were actually influenced by other social power-knowledge forces. These examples emerged when such knowledge was reiterated by pupils in different case studies. For example, the conspiracy theories associated with 9/11 were known to a number of pupils and the power-knowledge associated with these recollections could have contributed to the event having an enhanced notoriety (Foucault 2002:69). The effects of such events having a mysterious quality helped solidify them into the pupils' memory and ensured their recollection during discussions about terrorism. Therefore, some of the inconsistencies experienced within the power of hegemony did not actually threaten it, but rather ensured that certain discourses were associated with terrorism, simply because they made such knowledge more memorable and more likely to be recalled during discussion about the topic.

11.3.2 Tensions Between Power-Knowledge Discourses

Another instability within the power of hegemony was expressed by a tension between the perceptions of the "terrorist" and the power-knowledge associated with prejudiced discourses. The process of disclosure (as uncovered by the research events and subsequent analysis) highlighted the pupils' disposition of concern and was demonstrated by the manoeuvre to sanitise certain discourses. The pupils tactically avoided potentially prejudiced conversations through a technique of altering or avoiding the topic. However, uncovering how these perceived limits of acceptable discussion *functioned* within the power-knowledge process was difficult, because it contradicted the uncovered power of hegemony associated with terrorism.

In some cases, the power of anti-prejudiced rhetoric (which could be considered another form of hegemony) seemed to supersede the power of hegemony associated with terrorism: the pupils were subjected to a form of surveillance whereby certain conversations were actively discouraged by their peers. This process of surveillance was similar to that uncovered earlier; namely, individuals were expected to observe their own, and others, adherence to the social expectations associated with this form of power-knowledge. However, in these cases, the expectations were more akin to the accepted parameters of school discourses, as opposed to those wider social State powers that were noticed within the power of hegemony.

In other cases, the power-knowledge discourses appeared to complement each other: they both exhibited forms of social normalization that contributed to the legitimisation of certain ideas above others. This was particularly noticeable during the discussions about Nazi Germany, where terrorism was perceived as something associated with

Holocaust, an event that the pupils thought was motivated by a form of racism. The pupils did not discuss the religious-race connections in that example, but instead focussed on how racism in itself was the motivator for something they associated with extreme forms of criminality. Using Foucault's theoretical base for these extreme examples, we can begin to comprehend how racism required similar methods of surveillance to those experienced in relation to 9/11 and thus became subject to the power of hegemony, albeit under a different guise.

Therefore, the expressed fear of discussing the relationship between religion (and/or race) and terrorism was not actually a tension between the power-knowledge discourses, but actually another level of reinforcement to the general power of hegemonic discourse. As Modood's work suggested (2009), any perceived tension could actually be the result of a lack of terminological verification: he considered the word “race” as code for cultural racism and thus suggested that the hostility directed towards Muslims should actually be categorised as anti-Muslim racism. Thus categorising such discussions as potentially racist (as opposed to the more specific term of cultural racism) contributed to the avoidance of such discussions, which in turn discouraged open debate and made Islam appear more alien, simply because speaking about it has almost become a fearful notion in itself.

However, this analysis could minimalise the important arenas of struggle and power-resistance (Said 1986:154): power-knowledge discourses associated with a perceived freedom of expression, critical skeptism or free speech. Although free speech was not something raised by the pupils themselves, it was hinted at by their dispositions and exposed when they expressed personal opinions. They perceived ownership over their

ideas and demonstrated how they had a degree of individual autonomy within the discussions. However, Kendall and Wickham argued that power can only be exercised in relation to a resistance, thus any uncovered tension could be considered part of the operations of power rather than as something that seeks to promote or oppose it (Kendall and Wickham 1999:50-51). I would argue that such views negate the importance of personal opinion within these discussions. Perhaps it is naivety on my part to hope that any free speech could exist beyond the socially-confined power-knowledge dynamics associated with terrorism discourses, but at the very least a perceived freedom of expression may encourage others to question the normalized parameters by which such discussions currently take place: to really consider why the topic of terrorism was perceived in the manner disclosed by young people in Warwickshire and to question whether we are doing enough to help them comprehend the difficult issues associated with this topic.

11.4 Conclusion

Through this exploration of Foucault's theories concerning the processes of power-knowledge, the possible reasons behind the pupils' expressions of knowledge about terrorism were explored in greater depth. Applying his ideas to my analysis provided useful insights into how the power of hegemony and surveillance functioned in the formulation and disclosure of such knowledge. The use of his theories gave deeper insights into why certain individuals, typically those that could be categorised through particular religious or racial distinctions, had become associated with the perceived terrorism discourses exposed by the pupils. However, the pupils also demonstrated some instability within the hegemonic power discourses, either due to the level of factual inaccuracy or mystery associated with terrorism, or due to the heightened disposition of

concern associated with revealing prejudiced views. Although this perceived instability in the hegemonic power-knowledge process could simply be interpreted as another feature of it, I would argue that minimising this disclosed power-resistance actually removes the participant's personal autonomy within the discussion. The pupils had expressed another power-knowledge process, that of the perceived freedom of expression, and in doing so, they had raised important questions about the legitimacy of current hegemonic perceptions of terrorism and highlighted that they, as young people, were capable of openly discussing one of the most important, yet difficult, issues facing society today.

Chapter 12

Conclusion: Reflections on the Research

12.1 Introduction: Reflections

This thesis has provided an overview of pupils' perceptions of terrorism from six schools in Warwickshire, focussing on those findings that answered the initial research questions. To aid in the methodological choices and subsequent analysis of the results, the linguistic and social theorisations of Foucault were used to inspire an appropriate framework by which the project could be undertaken. However, it is important to now reflect on the research and to highlight its importance to the field.

This chapter will begin with a brief summary of the findings of each chapter, before discussing my reflections on the research process and the implications of the research. In doing so, it will not only support the quality of this investigation but also suggest possible avenues for future research projects.

12.2 The Research Journey

The research questions highlighted the main aims of this thesis: to investigate how pupils (in six Warwickshire secondary schools) perceived “terrorism”, with a specific focus on any connections made between terrorism and religion. Through the theoretical framework devised with the aid of Foucauldian thought, the thesis investigated both the process of knowledge formation and the content of the pupils' knowledge. In doing so, the research events and subsequent analysis also shed light on an additional process concerning the nature of disclosure: namely, how and why certain forms of knowledge

were either expressed or omitted as a result of discussing terrorism.

The initial chapters began by addressing the theoretical framework (Chapter 2) and background information (Chapter 3) that affected the scope of knowledge known to, and divulged by, participants. Through Foucault's *The Order of Things* (2002) and *Discipline and Punish* (1991), specific elements of knowledge were highlighted as investigatable avenues for exploring the pupils' perceptions. These included the language used as well as the power-knowledge dynamics that affected the knowledge expressed, and the ways in which this knowledge was expressed, by the participants. These theoretical insights were used as an aid in formulating the framework by which the literature review and proceeding research could be addressed.

Chapter 4 then explained the methodological framework used during the research process. I chose to use case study research (Yin 2003) because it provided a valuable route into the exploratory field of pupils' perceptions of terrorism and ensured that the practical need for short-term research events could take place in a variety of locations across Warwickshire. After reflecting on my role in the research, I concluded that I could be categorised as a "researcher-teacher": this meant I gave preference to my researcher role, but used my teaching skills to aid in the research design and data collection events. I also examined the practicalities of conducting research in schools including the access restrictions and demonstrating adherence to ethical procedures. Finally, I provided an overview of the data handling processes, including how I intended to analyse the data.

The following chapters provided an overview of the data collected. Chapter 5 began by

considering the research context, highlighting those aspects that affected the scope of the results, such as the geographical location and demographic information. This chapter also detailed how the theoretical framework (outlined in Chapter 2) had helped me uncover the effects that the process of disclosure had on findings: the fieldwork request was in itself a power-domain, that was expressed via the disposition of concern exhibited by the gatekeepers. Chapters 6 and 7 then provided details of the survey and individual case studies.

These results then fed into Chapters 8, 9 and 10, which analysed three specific areas: the language used, the uncovered power-knowledge dynamics and the entire network of comprehension. Finally, I reflected on all these findings from a Foucauldian-inspired perspective, and suggested that the process of disclosure (that I had uncovered during the research process) highlighted two important, but sometimes conflicting power-knowledge dynamics that affected the scope of information divulged: namely the power of hegemony and the power of anti-prejudice (Chapter 11). However, I also suggested that another form of power-knowledge, namely that of a perceived freedom of expression (or critical scepticism), contributed to the unique insights gathered from the individuals involved in this project. The young people demonstrated that they are not only capable of discussing the complex issues associated with this topic, but they demonstrated the ability and desire to question the imposed power-knowledge forces that affected their perceptions.

12.3 Reflections

12.3.1 Reflections on the Data Collected

The data presented within this thesis could only give information on a small region of

the UK, from a select group of pupils aged 13-15 years old, and limited the scope of the findings to those data sets that corresponded to the research questions. However, the data collected from this project could, in the future, be used to uncover other areas of interest, including how gender or specific teaching resources affected the results. Another area that was not discussed in great detail were the perceptions of the teachers and a separate investigation into their ideas could provide some useful insights and practical teaching advice for those interested in discussing this topic with pupils.

Another aspect that requires reflection is the post-research events that could have reduced the impact of the research findings. After I completed my data collection, a number of events occurred in the UK that were categorised as terrorism-related. Two of the most publicised included the killing of a solder, Lee Rigby, on 22nd May 2013 by two British-born Muslims and the 'Trojan Horse' documents that were associated with the possible radicalisation of pupils in predominantly Muslim schools in Birmingham (this story was most noticeable in the British media during April-June 2014, although the story has reappeared intermittently since then). As with any event linked to terrorism, it is likely that these examples would have affected the pupils' perceptions of terrorism had the research events taken place at a later time. However, this does not make the research findings any less valid: this research was intended to provide a snapshot of those ideas uncovered during that time and the generalisable conclusions (concerning the process of knowledge formation and the implications associated with the disclosure of such information) are still applicable to these more recent events. If anything, the associations made between these later events and terrorism actually enhances the relevance of this project because it demonstrates the implied importance of properly engaging pupils with the complex issues surrounding this topic, so that they

can critically examine the hegemonic power-knowledge discourses associated with terrorism.

12.3.2 Reflections on the Implications of this Research

Although all the implications of this research are difficult to know until after the findings have been published and disseminated, I would speculate that this research could affect a number of associated fields. With respect to educational research methods, this research could be used as a model for similar projects that involve the discussing of sensitive or controversial issues with young people: namely, Case Study Research and designing research events based on the researcher-teacher paradigm. Such approaches are also useful when there is little information about the topic under investigation or when there are known ethical and practical implications associated with the research being proposed.

In education circles, the findings from this thesis could contribute to the teaching and research conducted on terrorism and its associated discourses, such as radicalisation and extremism. Subject-specific research may also be influenced by this thesis, in particular Religious Education and PHSE, although Citizenship Education and History curricula could also find these results useful. Within political circles, this thesis highlights some important points for consideration with respect to how current counter-terrorism policy is implemented by schools; it demonstrates the importance of greater clarity and transparency in the dissemination of the UK's policy requirements.

12.3.3 Possible Future Research Projects

Due to the exploratory nature of this research, I chose to use Case Study Research

(CSR) as I deemed this the most appropriate approach for my field of study. However, now that an understanding of the issues associated with investigating perceptions of terrorism has been uncovered, future research could be conducted using alternative approaches. For example, one interesting avenue of study could be undertaken in the form of comparative qualitative and quantitative studies within other areas of the UK, or indeed on a wider scale of comparing such findings with the perceptions of pupils in other countries. Additional research could also be conducted with different age groups and within different settings (such as youth groups) to discover whether young people from different age groups express similar views to those uncovered herein.

Further research could also be conducted into the current materials and advice provided to schools: my preliminary investigations into these sources indicated that they are currently inadequate, with many simply providing information rather than actually engaging young people in the range of interesting debates that could include: the problems with terminology; discussing the terrorists' viewpoint; or even providing an ethical framework by which pupils could discuss the impact and/or involvement of governments in terrorism. In this case, a longitudinal study could be conducted with the aid of a teacher-researcher using the Action Research paradigm, to produce materials for schools.

12.4 Final Conclusions

From the evidence collected, I conclude that the young people from the 6 Warwickshire schools involved in my research perceived a connection between religion and terrorism, in particular Islam. The reason for this connection can be theoretically understood as part of the State's power of hegemony; events such as 9/11 and 7/7 have contributed to

these perceptions and encouraged a form of active surveillance to be placed on those individuals supposedly associated with these perceptions of terrorism. However, many pupils also questioned whether these perceptions were justifiable: sometimes they considered their lack of knowledge as a point of concern, in other cases they queried whether these hegemonic views could be perceived as racist or prejudiced. These questions demonstrated how the process of disclosure had affected their perceptions of, and ability to discuss, terrorism. Furthermore, the pupils' views demonstrated how they did not want to simply be provided with information about terrorism (although I would be wary of stipulating the scope or format of such information) but rather that they wanted be provided with opportunities to openly discuss these issues in depth. The pupils involved in this research demonstrated that young people are capable of engaging with those difficult debates that go beyond the current expected standards laid out in the UK counter-terrorism policy requirements. When given the chance to explain their views in a safe environment they demonstrated their ability to understand, explore and even question the hegemonic power-knowledge discourses associated with this topic (as outlined in Chapter 11) and I believe that this is something that should be encouraged so that critical discussions remain integral to the life experiences of young people.

This thesis has made an original contribution to knowledge by providing young people with a voice in the complex debates surrounding terrorism. It has also shed light on those processes of knowledge formation and disclosure that affect and contribute to the formulation of young people's perceptions of terrorism. The State discourses uncovered by this research demonstrated how they are expected to participate within such discussions (H.M. Government 2011), but how very little has been done to ensure that their voices (and the processes that affected their voices) were actually incorporated and

heard by those implementing these policies. In my opinion, educationalists and policy makers need to be aware of young people's perceptions, and the associated process of knowledge formation and nature of knowledge disclosure, so that their concerns and ideas can be responded to adequately by the education system. I hope that this research will actively encourage educationalists to listen to those affected by the policies and school curricula guidelines, so that more open discussions can be held in relation to the issues surrounding terrorism.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Ethical Approval Form

Research degrees: Application for Ethical Approval

Name

Angela Quartermaine

Project title

Pupils' Perceptions of Terrorism from a sample of Secondary Schools in Warwickshire

Supervisors

Dr Julia Ipgrave and Dr Judith Everington

Degree

PhD in Education

About the participants

The participants will be pupils from comprehensive and grammar schools, aged between 13-16.

Respect for participants' rights and dignity

The study will be divided into 2 main sections: questionnaires and focus groups. Before any research takes place, permission slips and letters will be sent to parents/guardians via the school.

The survey: the questions will be carefully thought out and structured to ensure that pupils feel their views are respected. Due to the nature of the topic under discussion, great care will be taken to encourage the pupils to think carefully about their views, so

that they are respectful of other people's cultural and religious values. The survey will take place with a teacher present, so that the pupils feel safer: the teacher will be known to them, so they should feel more secure in their environment and she/he will hopefully notice if any of the pupils feel uncomfortable with the direction of the discussion. All responses will be treated positively, unless they are deliberately inflammatory, in which case I will discuss my concerns with the classroom teacher or the relevant member of staff within the school. If necessary, the responses will also be discussed with my supervisor(s) or an appropriate member of the Warwick Institute for Education (WIE) team.

The focus group: each focus group will begin with a discussion about the purpose of the research, the need to respect the responses and views of others, and pupils will be reminded that they can "opt-out" at any point. These discussions will take place in a separate space, without a teacher but in an environment where other adults may be present, such as a library or nearby classroom. The discussion will be recorded and again, if there are any comments that cause concern, I will discuss these with an appropriate staff member or with a member of the WIE team.

Privacy and Confidentiality

Confidentiality and privacy will be assured at various points of the research process:

Data collection: The questionnaire can be answered anonymously, but there is a section asking if the pupil would like to take part in the focus group (opt-in), in which case they need to leave their name and tutor group.

Data records: I will keep all the records in a secure location at home. The data will be destroyed at an appropriate time after the project has finished.

Presentation of the Data: In my dissertation / any subsequent papers, I will not name

any pupils, teachers or schools that have taken part in the study. I will only state the region (e.g. Warwickshire) or use pseudo-names or codes where I gathered the information.

Consent

- *will prior informed consent be obtained from participants?* Yes
- *from others?* Yes
- *explain how this will be obtained. If prior informed consent is not to be obtained, give reason:*

I will initially send a letter to the school, explaining my project, asking for permission to undertake the research with their pupils.

Once permission has been gained from the school, additional letters will be sent to the appropriate teachers, parents and pupils to get their consent to take part in the study.

- *will participants be explicitly informed of the student's status?* Yes

Competence

To ensure that all the methods used were undertaken with the necessary competence, I used the experience gained from both my background studies and work experience.

Background study: I have studied various research methods during my MA in Educational research methods.

I have also conducted detailed studies into "terrorism" during my undergraduate and first postgraduate degrees, so have a good awareness of the issues involved.

Experience: I have 2 years secondary school teaching experience and therefore have some awareness of pupil needs in the classroom. I also have 6 months experience as an

action-researcher, where I helped conduct a questionnaire of various charitable organisation and I have recently completed an MA in Educational Research Methods at the University of Warwick. I will also work for a charity, the Brilliant Club, discussing the topic of terrorism with pupils in different school environments, at various points over the course of the PhD. Furthermore, I will have support from academic staff at WIE.

Responsibility

i) Well-being

I will be CRB-checked prior to going into any school and I aim to have a teacher available at all points of data collection, to ensure that the pupils feel safe and secure in their environment.

ii) Addressing dilemmas

There are a number of ethical dilemmas that could occur with this research.

Researcher is too leading: I could inadvertently use language that may lead the pupils to respond in a particular way, thus I must be very careful in how I present myself and the study.

Pupil responses: If a pupil responds in a manner that could be a serious threat to the safety of other pupils or to a wider social group, this will be discussed with the teacher in the classroom to see whether it needs to be reported to a higher authority. I have a legal responsibility to report anything suspicious; thus I must make it clear to the pupils that they do not incriminate themselves. Great care must be taken to ensure that pupils do not take offence at any comments that are made.

iii) Misuse of research

I will do my best to present the data in a clear and accurate manner in my thesis and any subsequent papers. All the data will be kept safe before it is written up and I will not share the data with anyone, except my supervisors or relevant members of the WIE team. Any publications will be reviewed by my peers prior to print.

Furthermore, I will carefully structure the questions I ask prior to discussing anything with the pupils. I will also think about my responses to any questions they have before answering, but I will have to get more experience in the field before I know what types of questions the pupils might have.

Integrity

I will present the data in as honest and as fair manner as possible, by reporting the data accurately. I will also not include any names of places or people involved in my research. Furthermore, I will have my work checked by a friend and my supervisors prior to printing it.

Have you and your supervisor discussed and agreed the basis for determining authorship of published work other than your thesis?

Not yet

Research student Date

Supervisor Date

Appendix 2

Data Collection: Semi-Structured Interview Questions for Teachers

1. Privacy and Anonymity

Is it okay to record the interview?

Discuss details e.g. data stored in a secure location and names will not to be used in any published materials

2. Personal Questions

Teacher's age and religious background

What is your education history? (from university / PGCE)

Teaching experience? (past and current)

Subject(s) currently teaching?

School details – demographic of school and how PHSE/RE is taught (e.g. number of lessons a week/ any relevant GCSE courses)

3. "Terrorism" word exercise

Ask them to speak whilst talking

Personal views – ask questions about some of the words they associate with terrorism

Any personal experiences of terrorism?

Background reading / prior knowledge of terrorism?

How would you define "terrorism" to a pupil?

4. How do you think a pupil would define terrorism?

Which words do think the pupils would agree with?

Do you think they would add anything?

How do you think a typical year 9 pupil might define terrorism?

What do you think they will say about the causes of terrorism?

What are their sources of information? E.g. TV programmes

Are there any lessons or other in-school events that the pupils may have been involved with, where the topic of terrorism was discussed?

5. Any Lessons or Schemes of Work that might include the topic?

Any examples they would like to discuss?

School policy documents on the topic? Or related topics?

Any training given on dealing with difficult issues? Or specifically on discussing terrorism with pupils?

Any instances where terrorism/related themes have been brought up by other staff or pupils?

6. Resources

Any other examples that the teacher would like to discuss with me

7. Any questions for me?

Respond to any questions or concerns the teacher has about the research

Appendix 3

Data Collection (Session 1): Simplified Lesson Plan

Section	Length of Time	Activity
Starter: word association sheet	5-10 mins	Pupils are given a sheet to fill in, regarding any words, pictures or a definition they associate with terrorism (see Appendix 4). They are asked to conduct this in silence.
Explanation	3 mins	Explain position as a researcher and the basic premise of the research. Go through ethical protocol.
Discussion	5-10 mins	Ask what the differences are between a test and research. Discuss the importance of silence, but highlight how there are no incorrect answers in a research survey. Reinforce the ethical parameters of the pupils involvement in the research. Discuss whether the starter activity could / should be included in the data collected from the research.
Main: Questionnaire	10-15 mins	Ask all pupils if they want to participate in the survey. Remind them that they can withdraw participation at any time; an alternative activity to be provided if necessary. Briefly go through the questions and respond to any queries they have about the survey. Request that the exercise be conducted on their own, in silence. Once completed, the pupils are asked to return survey and consider any additional words or ideas they would associated with terrorism, until they can move into a group setting.

Discussion	10-20 mins (depending on length of lesson)	Pupils to work in groups of 3-5 to discuss their understanding of terrorism. If required, remind them of some key ideas e.g. words, activities or motivations they might associate with terrorism. See contingency planning for alternative approach.
Plenary: feedback sheet	5-10 mins	Request that the pupils fill in the plenary questions, in silence. Ask if they have any further questions.
Thanks	2 mins	Thank all the pupils and teacher for their participation and remind them of the follow-up session (with 4-8 volunteers) in a week or two's time.

Appendix 4

Data Collection (Session 1): Survey, Starter and Plenary

Pupil Survey

Instructions: Please take your time filling this in, attempt every question and please be as honest as possible. If you don't have an answer, write "not sure".

Confidentiality: The names of the school, the teachers and the pupils involved will not be included in the final research documents. Any information you provide will not be shared without your permission. If you have any questions about the research, please email me at: a.quartermaine@warwick.ac.uk

---

About you...

Name: _____
(if you wish to remain anonymous, please leave blank)
Age: _____
Year group: _____
Gender: Male Female
Do you and your family have a religion? Yes No Not sure
If so, which religion? _____
What is your ethnic group? *(e.g. Black English / White Welsh etc.)*
_____ Prefer not to say Not sure

Questions

1. Have you ever discussed the topic of terrorism in school?
Yes No Not sure
If so, in which subject(s) have you discussed terrorism? If it was during assembly or in form time, please state this.

_____

What was discussed in the lesson(s)?

_____

2. Would you like to <u>discuss</u> the topic of terrorism <u>in school</u>?
Yes No Not sure

3. Would you like to <u>know more</u> about terrorism (in general)?
Yes No Not sure

If so, what would you like to know about?

_____

If not, why?

_____

4. Where do you think terrorism happens?

☐ Anywhere

☐ Specific countries (please state)

_____

☐ Not sure

5. Do you worry about terrorism happening where you live?
Yes No A little Not sure
Please comment on your response *(leave blank if you're not sure):*
*(**e.g.** I think terrorism could / would not happen where I live because ...)*

_____

_____

6. What do you think the current threat level is?
Tick **<u>one</u> box** *for each* ***<u>column</u>****.*

Threat Level	***Description of the threat from terrorism***	**Where you live**	**The UK as a whole**
Critical	*An attack is expected very soon (now)*		
Severe	*An attack is highly likely, very soon*		
Substantial	*An attack is a strong possibility*		
Moderate	*An attack is possible but not likely*		
Low	*An attack is unlikely*		

7. Which newspapers do you read / news programmes do you watch at home? *(write "none" if you don't read/watch the news)*

_____

_____

8. What recent events or news stories have you heard about terrorism?

_____

_____

9. Have you seen any stories about terrorism in documentaries or TV shows? If so, which programme? And what happened in it?

_____

_____

10. Have you talked about terrorism with your friends or family?

Yes No Not sure

If so, what have you discussed?

_____

_____

What is a Terrorist?

11. Name some terrorist groups or individuals:

_____

_____

12. Name some terrorist activities:

_____

_____

For Q12 please circle one activity that you think best describes terrorism.

13. What do you think motivates terrorists?

Please put the following in order of importance. Please use each number once.

1 = most important 5 = least important

Anger or hatred	
Money	
Politics	
Racism or prejudice	
Religious ideas	

Can you think of any other things that may motivate terrorists?

_____

14. Any additional comments about terrorism and/or terrorists:

_____

_____

_____

Feedback:

Space for comments:

_____

_____

_____

Would like to take part in a group discussion on the topic of terrorism?

Yes **No**

Thank you!

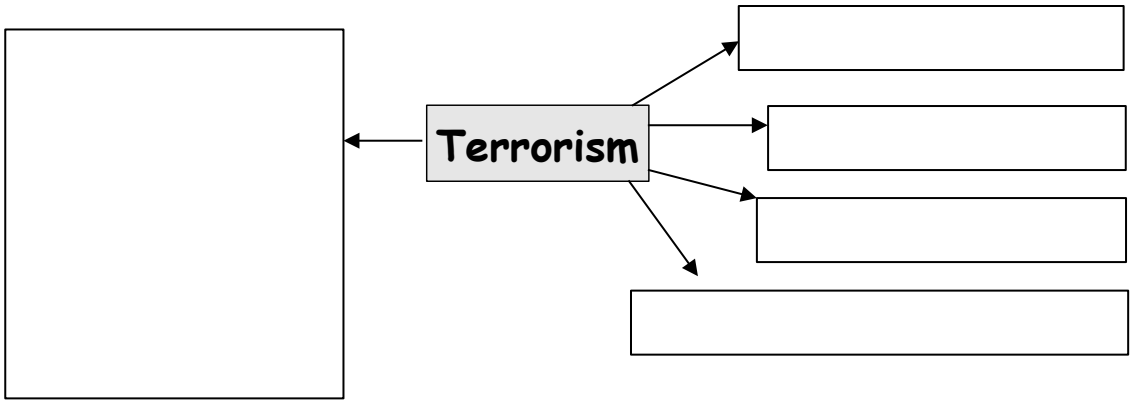
Starter

Name: _____

Age: _____ *Form:*_____

1. What words or pictures do you associate with terrorism?

(The big box is for a picture or a longer description about terrorism)



2. Complete the following sentence:

I think terrorism is _____

_____

_____

Reflections

1. Has your opinion of terrorism changed? If so, how?

_____

_____

2. Would you like to add to the description you wrote in the starter?
Please write any additional words here:

_____

_____

3. Is there anything else that you would like to know about terrorism? If so, what?

_____

_____

Thank you again for your help today!

Appendix 5

Data Collection (Session 2): Pupil Focus Group Questions

START: Discuss ethical approval

- Recording the discussion

- The names of teachers, pupils and school will not be included in published materials

- Everything is anonymous, however if I feel that anything is said that demonstrates concern, either about yourself or your classmates, this will be discussed with your teacher

Starter:

Is there anything that you would like to discuss first?

EXERCISE: What do you think terrorism is? Word association in pairs

Main:

Ask them to discuss some of the key words or phrases used

Discuss details or descriptions for those key words in their understanding of terrorism

Discuss any examples brought up or any motivations. Ask for further details if necessary.

Plenary:

EXERCISE: What do you think terrorism is? Review word association task and ask pupils to explain any changes

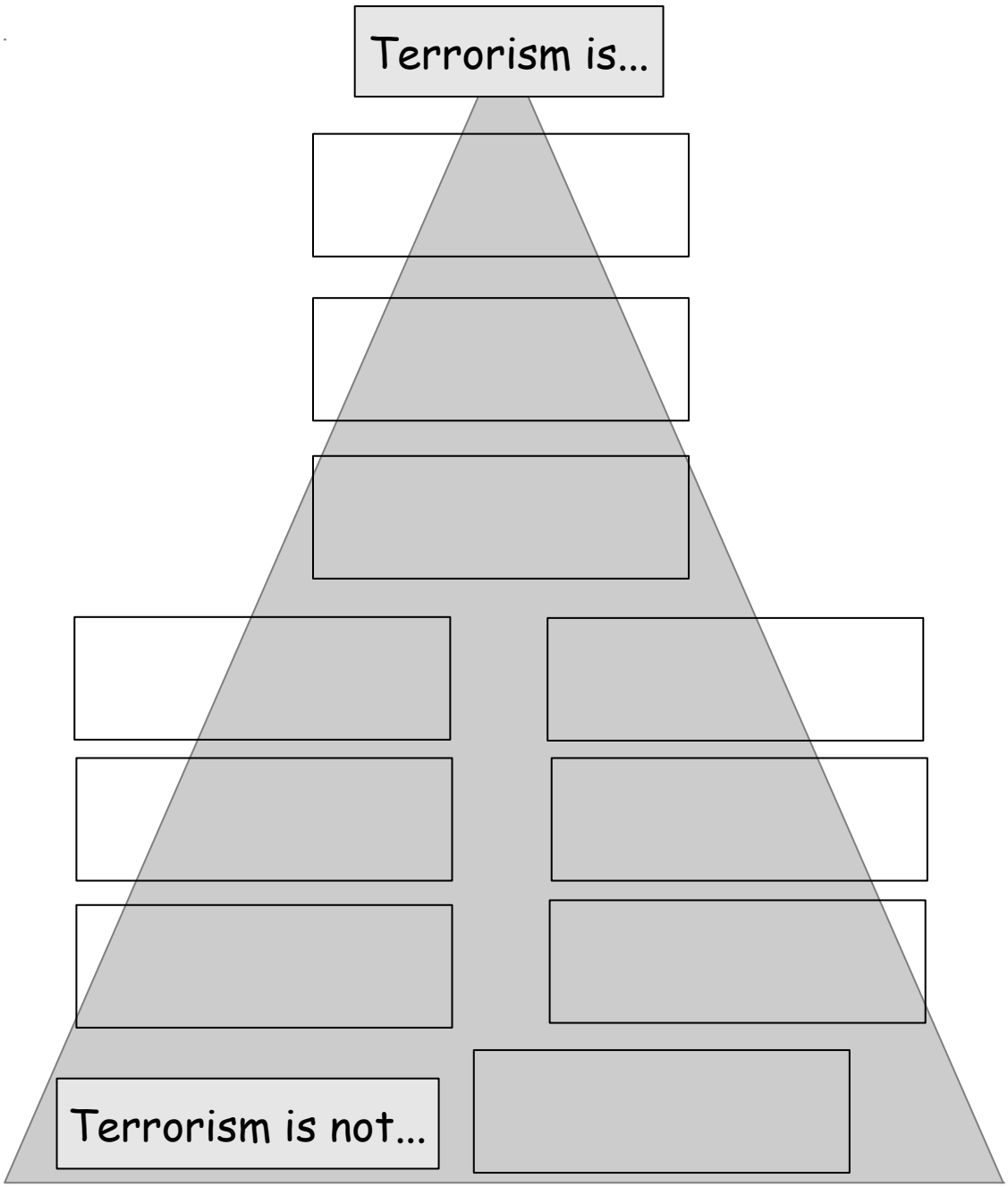
Any further comments or questions?

Thank you for taking part!

Appendix 6

Data Collection (Session 2): Word Association Activity

Anger		Mass murder
Money		Revenge
Politics		War
Religious Ideas		
Racism/Prejudice		



Appendix 7

Data Collection: Contingency Plans for Research Sessions 1 and 2

Session 1

(a) Pupil(s) does not want to participate

- Pupil given an alternative exercise by teacher, preferably in a different room (if available)

- Pupil given an alternative exercise by researcher. These resources included simplified versions of work conducted with the Brilliant Club (unpublished materials, Quartermaine 2012), which contained some written sources and exercises for pupils.

(b) Pupils do not engage with group discussion activity

- Researcher had a series of questions that the groups could focus on, e.g. what do you think motivates terrorism? What recent terrorism-related news stories or media sources have you heard? Why do you think that was categorised as "terrorism"?

- Researcher had a series of printed out photographs of famous terrorism-related events for the pupils to discuss; these photographs were also available as a power-point presentation. They included 9/11, 7/7, animal rights activists near Oxford University and the Mumbai attacks. These photographs were accompanied by a series of simple questions, such as "what do you think is happening in this photo?", "why do you think this was categorised as terrorism?"

- Teacher may also have alternative exercises available, if necessary.

Session 2

(a) Pupil(s) does not want to participate

Pupil can return to classroom at any time

(b) Pupils do not engage with group discussion

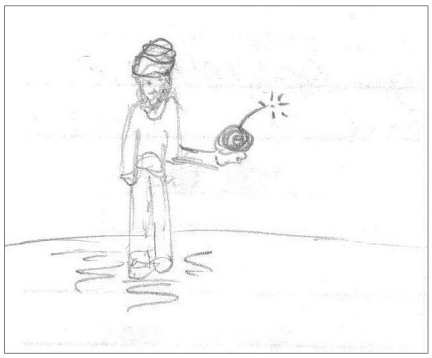
- Researcher has a series of topics or alternate questions that the group could focus on. For example, the pupils could discuss any terrorism activities mentioned in session 1 (e.g. 9/11 or 7/7). The words in the starter activity could also be used to begin a discussion or the researcher could ask about a recent news story.
- If necessary, the researcher also has a series of printed out photographs of famous terrorism-related events (from session 1 contingency plans) for the pupils to discuss.

(c) Alternative activities

- High ability group: pupils could discuss a specific motivation in more detail, e.g. religion or racism. Alternatively, the pupils could focus on definitions of terrorism and compare to their understanding of similar words, such as extremism or radicalisation.
- Low ability group: pupils could focus on specific events, such as 9/11 and their factual knowledge or general perceptions of terrorism from different media outlets.

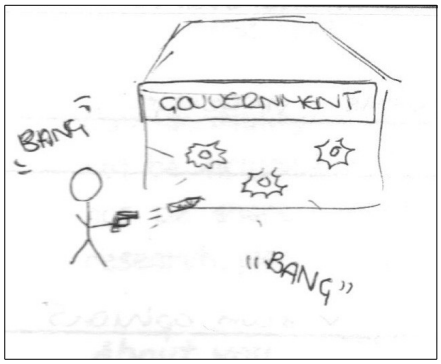
Appendix 8

Results: Sample of Pupil Pictures



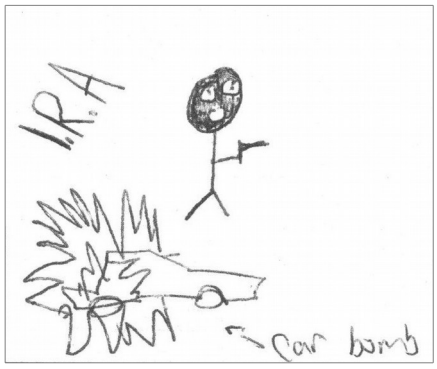
CS1A.P02

CS1A.P11

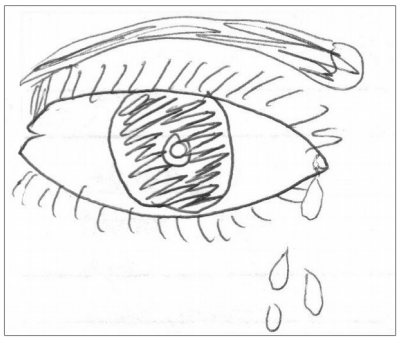


CS2B.P18

CS3A.P05



CS3A.P20



CS4B.P16

Appendix 9

Results: Timeline of Recalled Events (taken from all data set)

Crusades Various. First Crusade 1095-1099 and Seventh Crusade 1248-1254, although there were also some conflicts as late as the 14th and 15th Centuries.

World War I 1914-1918

World War II 1939-1945

Holocaust Occurred during World War II

Coventry Bombs Better known as the Coventry Blitz; various times during WWII

USA nuked Japan Atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in 1945

JFK Assassination President John F. Kennedy was assassinated on 22nd November 1963

Lockerbie bombing 21st December 1988, Pan Am Flight 103 was destroyed by a bomb

Rwandan Genocide 7th April – 15th July 1994 (approximately), mass slaughter of Tutsi and moderate Hutu in Rwanda by members of the Hutu majority.

Manchester bomb 15th June 1996, the IRA placed a bomb in Manchester City Centre, UK

9/11 11th September 2001, four passenger planes were hijacked in the USA. Two flew into the North and South Towers of the World Trade Centre, the third crashed into the Pentagon and the fourth crashed into a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, although it is believed that it was targetted at Washington D.C.

Afghanistan War 7th October 2001 - present

Iraq and S. Hussein 20th March 2003 – 15th December 2011 (war). President Saddam Hussein was captured in December 2003 in Tikrit, Iraq. He was executed on 30th

December 2006. Please note that there are current problems in this region with a group called Islamic State (IS).

Shoe Bomber 22nd December 2001, Richard Colvin Reid attempted to detonate explosives in his shoe

7/7 7th July 2005 London bombings. Three on the London underground and the fourth on a double-decker bus in Tavistock Square, London, UK.

Underpants Bomber 25th December 2009, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, attempted to detonate explosives in his underwear

UK Student Protest November 2010- December 2010. Student fees protest, various UK locations

London Riots August 2011. Protests began in London after the police shot Mark Duggan in Tottenham, London.

Joseph Kony Leader of the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda, accused of ordering the abduction of children to become sex slaves and child soldiers. In 2012 there was a film campaign called “Stop Kony”, produced by Invisible Children Inc.

Arab Spring A revolutionary wave of demonstrations and protests that began in December 2010 in Tunisia, before moving into Egypt, Libya, Yemen and other countries.

Tunisia Demonstration began in December 2010, resulting in the outing of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali on 14th January 2011. The President fled into exile.

Egypt / Mubarak Protests began on 25th January 2011. On 10th February 2011, President Hosni Mubarak ceded all presidential power. He was later arrested and convicted to life in prison. His successor, Mohamed Morsi, was later subject to more protests, resulting in the military overthrowing the replacement government on 3rd July 2013.

Libya / Col. Gaddafi Protests began 15th February 2011. By September 2011, the leader, Colonal Gaddafi, was killed by anti-Gaddafi fighters in Sabha.

Syria Protests began 26th January 2011, which developed into fighting and by June 2012, the UN peacekeeping chief in Syria declared in a period of civil war (ongoing).

Osama bin Laden Leader of al-Qaeda, killed in Pakistan on 2nd May 2011 by US forces.

Anders Breivik 22nd July 2011, Breivik bombed government buildings in Oslo and carried out a mass shooting at a Workers' Youth League (AUF) camp on Utøya island, Norway. In August 2012, he was convicted of mass murder, causing a fatal explosion and terrorism.

London Olympic Games 2012 Summer Olympics took place between 27th July 2012 and 12th August 2012

M6 Toll Road 5th July 2012, bomb scare on a Megabus coach on M6 Toll Road, UK

North Korea nuclear tests Various; most recent examples include 25th May 2009 and 12th February 2013

Malala Yousafzai Pakistani school pupil and education activist, shot in Pakistan on 9th October 2012 and survived. Currently continues her activism for women and girls education.

Abu Hamza Egyptian-British cleric, imprisoned in Britain and extradited on 5th October 2012 to the USA on eleven counts of terrorism, of which he was found guilt on 19th May 2014.

USA School Shooting Various; although the shootings on 14th December 2012 by Adam Lanza at a primary school in Connecticut, USA, was referenced in CS6.

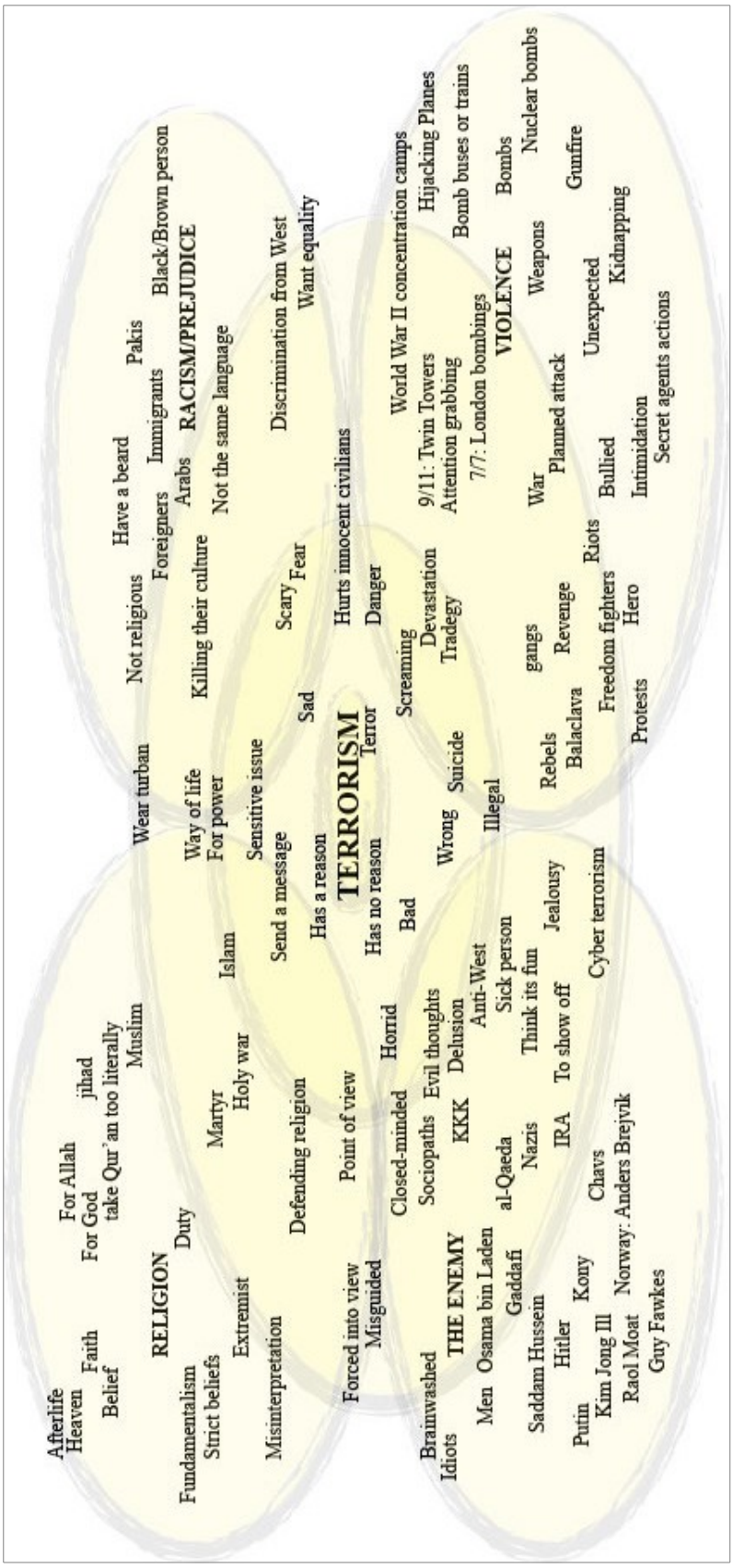
Woolwich Murder 22nd May 2013, Fusilier Drummer Lee Rigby was killed by two men in Woolwich, UK. The men claimed to be avenging the killing Muslims by British armed forces and the attacks were categorised by many as terrorism.

Mosque Attacks Various. Those by Pavlo Lapshyn included 21st June 2013, mosque attacked in Walsall; 28th June 2013 in Wolverhampton; and a third on 21st July 2013 in Tipton, UK.

Appendix 10

Analysis: Example Word Table

Initial spread of key words used in association with "terrorism" (starter exercise)



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